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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN,

WITH RELATION CHIEFLY

TO ITS

FINANCES.

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BY

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OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

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PREFACE.

I AM not, I own, of the number of those who are disposed to hail the dawn of that golden age, in which every man is to write a book; but when an individual has had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a particular subject; when that subject is one of great public interest, and contradictory opinions are maintained on it, even by men of unprejudiced minds; it becomes, I think, a sort of duty on his part to communicate the information with which his experience may have furnished him.

The best years of my life have been passed, not merely in considering questions of finance, but in applying the principles of commercial economy to practical purposes. Having been long employed in the administration of the finances of

our eastern empire; and having acted in different instances upon the principles which I have endeavoured to explain and enforce in this little work, I can bear testimony to their being calculated for practical use. I may not have succeeded in communicating a single new idea; for we borrow insensibly from books and conversation; and the subject which I have chosen has been so much canvassed that it is difficult to give it now any character of originality. But if I should be so fortunate as to place it in a just point of view, and if I should add at all to the weight of those arguments which are destined to dispel error, I shall not regret that others have laboured before me in the same field.

I am inclined to suspect, however, that it is not less necessary for me to justify opinions which I maintain in opposition to high authorities, than to apologize for the repetition of established truths. I have the greatest respect for the Writings of Dr A. Smith; but I have found myself, in some instances, led to conclusions different from those which that valuable author has arrived at upon the same questions.

Dr Smith maintains, that "labour is the real

"measure of the exchangeable value of all com-
"modities," while he at the same time admits that the wages of labour vary in different countries, and almost in every village of the same country. How then can labour become a general measure of value? The price of subsistence ought to regulate the wages of labour; but it is not found to do so universally. Our municipal regulations frequently interfere to destroy the relation which should subsist between the price of labour and the price of subsistence; and in particular countries, the nature and quality of the subsistence to which their inhabitants are accustomed, differ so widely, that the price of that subsistence must be very different. Labour, whether manual, or an operation of machinery, must possess a lowest rate of price, determined by the lowest price of subsistence, and it will form part of the cost of all commodities upon which it is applied; but labour cannot still be resolved into the measure of their exchangeable value.

Dr Smith asserts, that the value of the precious metals must rise in a rich and fall in a poor country. If by a rich country be meant one abounding in capital and in valuable productions,

the reverse of the proposition will be found to be true. Great Britain must be esteemed one of the richest countries in the world, and yet a given quantity of the precious metals will purchase a less quantity of subsistence in that country than it will do in any other. If, moreover, that country be esteemed rich which possesses a large stock of the precious metals in proportion to its other capital, it can scarcely be conceived how such disproportionate supply of a particular article can tend to raise its value on a comparison with other commodities.

Dr Smith recommends parsimony as a means of augmenting the riches of a nation; but accumulation, the offspring of parsimony, must operate in many cases to check and suppress labour, the fruitful source of national wealth, according to the Doctor's own principles.

That author, whose habit of closely scrutinizing objects has led him to discriminate sometimes too minutely, seems to have adopted rather a fanciful classification of capital. For example, he considers houses to be unproductive property, while factories are admitted to yield a revenue. But can there exist any just distinction

between those walls which are intended to preserve the machine, and those which shelter the workman who gives it motion and directs its application? Houses may, at least, be ranked with ground in the highest state of improvement; and they contribute to produce that which it is the end and aim of agriculture to produce—the comfortable existence of the human race. In point of fact, houses do yield a revenue in many cases, and in others they save a charge, which is essentially the same thing.

Dr Smith, again, in his classification of labourers, has distributed the clergy, the army and navy, and some of the most useful professions, among the unproductive orders. But what distinction can be shown between the hand which sows the seed, and that which defends the crop from spoliation. The pastor, by his moral precepts, and the soldier and magistrate, by a more active force, secure that harvest which the labour of the husbandman would never perhaps realize without their co-operation and assistance. In truth, it is the earth which produces; and although the labour of the husbandman is more visibly and directly employed upon it, this labour

does not contribute more to place the bounteous gifts of nature within our reach, than the labour of the mechanic who fashions the ploughshare, or the labour of the engineer who drains the land.

Some of the opinions of Dr Smith on the subject of colonies,—the comparative value of different branches of trade,—and the injurious tendency of foreign luxuries, may also admit of question; but as I am solicitous to establish what I believe to be right, rather than to expose what I conceive to be wrong, I have no motive for referring to the opinions of others, except to bring my own to a more decisive test; and in noticing slightly, as I have done, a few positions of that estimable writer, to which I cannot subscribe, I have not proposed to myself to undertake the office of controverting his doctrines.

I must, however, advert to one proposition of Dr Smith, which is strenuously supported by the writers of the Edinburgh Review; * for, even if it

* See Vol. XIII, page 53, et seq.

"In this manner, likewise, does it appear, that no greater "amount of bank notes can be made to circulate in any "country, than would circulate of gold and silver, if paper

be well-founded in its original application, it is essential that it should not be extended to a case where, certainly, it will not be found to be true. Dr Smith alleges, that banks cannot over-issue, except to government, and that the circulation can never be overstocked with currency, since the channel being once full, any thing further which may be thrown in, must of necessity overflow.

The author evidently applied this proposition to a currency consisting of the precious metals, or convertible into those metals; and the able advocates of his opinion probably had such a currency in their contemplation, in the whole course of the argument maintained by them in the article of the Review to which I allude.

Whether the proposition be true or not as applicable to a currency of this* description, it undoubtedly is not true when applied to a paper

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"currency were unknown; that a rise of prices, or depre-
"ciation of the currency, cannot be the effect of an over-
"issue; but that the channel of circulation being once
"full, whatever flows in, must run over."

* It is so far true that the power of issuing notes of this description is limited, by the limitation of the means to discharge them possessed by the bank.

currency, of the nature of that which has been tolerated in England since the year 1797; and for this assumption I have the authority of the reviewers themselves, for, in a subsequent number of this celebrated publication, it is expressly stated, that an excessive issue of bank paper has actually taken place, and that it has been followed by a great and manifest depreciation of that* currency.

Nor has the over-issue of bank notes originated solely in new and extraordinary advances to the government. The debt of the government to the bank of England was extended to a very large sum in the years 1809 and 1810; but it was still greater at the period of the discontinuance of cash payments in 1797; and it does not appear that the bank has of late years extended its accommodations to the government beyond their ordinary scale†. It is certain, too, that the country

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* See Vol. XVIII, p. 443, et seq.—If the remarks in Vol. XIII, p. 53, et seq. be not qualified and restricted in their application, the opinions maintained in the two articles of the review will be found to be totally at variance.

† Debt of the Government to the Bank,

	5th January 1798,	L. 5,363,739
Ditto	ditto 1799,	7,454,739

banks, which have contributed so largely to overstock the circulation with paper, have not made any advances whatever to the government.

Moreover, whatever be the currency to which the observation is applied, there is no ground for the distinction that, while an over-issue of bank notes can take place by advances to the government, it cannot take place by means of advances to individuals. In what respect does the government, in its quality of borrower, differ from merchants and others who find it necessary to contract loans from banks? The minister of the country may exercise a more powerful influence at the bank of England than the private mer-

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Debt of the Government to the Bank

	5th January	1800,	L.7,232,239
Ditto	ditto	1801,	10,983,239
Ditto	ditto	1802,	10,357,739
Ditto	ditto	1803,	6,979,739
Ditto	ditto	1804,	6,215,739
Ditto	ditto	1805,	7,563,739
Ditto	ditto	1806,	5,967,739
Ditto	ditto	1807,	6,791,739
Ditto	ditto	1808,	6,499,739
Ditto	ditto	1809,	8,832,739
Ditto	ditto	1810,	8,474,739

chant; but the managers of this and other banking establishments have been found but too well disposed to extend their accommodations to individuals, beyond those bounds which prudence would prescribe, and beyond the demands of a well regulated, safe, and prosperous trade.

The* reviewers assume that banks in all cases receive a valuable consideration for the notes which are advanced by them; that no larger a-

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* See Vol. XIII. page 55, et seq.

We have seen that specie, and even bank notes, are commodities which are bought and sold like other commodities.

Now, were the commodity of notes obtained at the Bank of England for nothing; did every man obtain them merely for the asking; there might very easily be an extraordinary quantity of them thrown into circulation. But it so happens, that a man cannot obtain one of them without having something to give for it. Every one which is transferred to him he has bought and paid for with a value equivalent to the sum specified in the note. But it is abundantly certain, that no man in general buys more of any commodity than he has occasion for, and least of all of the commodity called money. No money is therefore ever drawn by individuals from the bank, but for the business of immediate payments; and the money wanted for immediate payments is just the money requisite for the circulation of the country.

mount is taken by the individual than is actually required for his payments, he himself having a strong motive for economizing; and that the notes so advanced must be returned to the bank in the course of retiring the bills which may have been discounted. But, in point of fact, such is not always the case, for the bills and acceptances of insolvent persons are not unfrequently discounted by the numerous banks established throughout the country; and whenever this happens, the notes of the bank will remain outstanding against it, without its having obtained an equivalent.

It is matter of notoriety, that large and improvident advances have been made, by the country banks in particular, to commercial adventurers and others; and the many disastrous failures which have taken place of late years, furnish a presumption that the amount of bank notes issued in this manner, without an equivalent, must have been very considerable. The banks, in making such issues, place themselves in the same situation as, when they advance to a government which is distressed, and unable to discharge its debts; and their notes are liable to be depreciated, both by

their superabundance, and by reason also of the discredit which attaches whenever a commercial establishment is known to have incurred losses by imprudent transactions.

The last mentioned cause of depreciation I have no occasion to insist upon; nor is it of importance that I should trace in what manner the notes, which pass in the first instance into the hands of necessitous or extravagant persons, who do not return value for them, are finally disposed of. All I propose to establish is, that these notes, in conjunction with the vast mass of paper which is otherwise created, must tend to overstock the circulation, and must ultimately disturb, by their superabundance, the accustomed relations between commodities and money.

I shall only explain further, in submitting this essay to the public, that the greater part of it was written abroad in 1808 and 1809; but, on my arrival in England early in 1811, I found that the subject had been so much discussed, that for a time I relinquished the intention of completing the work with a view to its publication. During an interval of leisure, I have since resumed it; and it appearing to me that erroneous

opinions are still entertained on several important points, notwithstanding all which has been written, I am induced to offer myself, among the crowd of disputants, at the tribunal of the public.

CALCUTTA,
30*th September* 1812.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the Progress of the Human Race to a State of Social Order.

The operations of nature, when viewed in their most simple form and relations, are calculated to excite admiration. The homely acorn is moulded by her secret workings into the venerable oak; and the beautiful tints of the rose are produced from elements, in which we, in vain, attempt to discover any common character or resemblance.

But wonderful as are the revolutions observable in the material world, there is no change, perhaps, more extraordinary than that which takes place in the intellectual faculties of man. When we contemplate the naked savage, abandoned, apparently, to the hostile elements,—degraded to a level with the vilest animals,—possessing no ideas beyond those which the grossest appetites excite;

—when we view this being, is it possible to recognize the germs which have formed the mind of a Newton? When we see a La Place rescuing the universe from the imputation of imperfection, ascending to the region of the spheres to develope and explain the wonderful combinations of eternal wisdom, the stupendous labours of omnipotence,—is it possible to trace back this being to the grovelling savage?

The changes which have taken place in the social habits of man, and in the constitution of particular communities, are not less remarkable; and if they were to be found only in the records of history, we should not readily conceive how so singular a revolution could have been effected. He who has been fashioned by an enlightened education; who has been bred in the enjoyment of every luxury; who has seen life only in a state of the utmost refinement; would not easily conceive, if there were no living examples of a different state of society, that, but for the local circumstances of his birth, he had been a wandering, ignorant, half-famished savage. We have, however, living instances, still, of all the various gradations through which man has passed in his

progress to that state of refinement which has been attained in the countries of Europe.

In New Holland, and throughout a great part of Austral Asia, the human species seems scarcely distinguishable from the brute creation. It enjoys a mere animal existence, and appears to form a link which unites us with the rest of the animal world. Have the inhabitants of those countries remained in their present condition from the beginning of time? Or by what strange revolution can they have been stripped of former acquisitions, and have been reduced to their primitive elements? Nothing but a most violent convulsion can reduce, in any striking degree, the condition of the species, because our wants and our passions operate perpetually as a stimulus to the faculties, which promotes their developement, and excites them to efforts for the amelioration of our condition. If no extraordinary obstacles exist, the species ought constantly to advance in improvement.

Nothing can be more wretched than the human species in the first rude state of its existence; exposed to the rigours of the seasons; waging perpetual war with the other animals; and draw-

ing a precarious subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, it would seem to bear no marks of its future destiny.

And, in reality, the transition is not sudden from the cave to the palace; from want and misery to the superfluities of civilized life; from the dangers attending the desolate savage, to the security afforded by the social union.

The pastoral state, although not possessing all the charms which are ascribed to it by the imagination of the poet, is a great advancement in the condition of man. He no longer depends for subsistence on berries, roots, and the produce of the chase. The domestic animals furnish a more certain and abundant resource; and the use of fire, and the knowledge of the metals, have placed within his reach the means of acquiring a much greater degree of comfort.

The population is not necessarily circumscribed within such narrow limits; and as the labour of the individual can produce more than is required for his own immediate support, we have the first rudiments of an organized community. Families will continue united for mutual security and benefit; tribes will be formed; a difference of con-

dition will soon take place; the patriarch of the family or tribe will assume a superiority; tribes will connect themselves; armies will begin to form; and armies soon produce chiefs.

The Arabs and Tartars are very generally in this state, even where a greater degree of civilization prevails around them; and although the nature of the country has probably had considerable influence in perpetuating for ages this state of society, some natural ground of preference may be perceived in the independence which characterizes it.

This, however, does not entirely satisfy the mind, in contemplating the fact, that a large portion of the human race should have remained to the present day, in the first stage of society, when the Greeks and other nations had attained the utmost degree of civilization, some thousand years ago.

In this second stage, the precious metals will have acquired no superior value, for barter is found to answer every necessary purpose. We still see the natives of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, refusing to accept costly medals, at the moment when they manifest the greatest eagerness to exchange their little stock for beads and

rusty nails. Iron is found by them to be of more real use.

The revenues of the chief cannot be very extensive. Contributions in curds, cheese, hides, and cattle, he may draw from his tribe; and in this simple form of society, no other revenues can be necessary.

Agriculture provides much more extensive means of subsistence to the human species, and it creates therefore a rapid increase of population. Agriculture and population operate, indeed, reciprocally in promoting each other. They are at the same time both causes and effects; for, as the means of subsistence are augmented, the human race is found to increase, while its increasing numbers are impelled to efforts for extending the means of subsistence.

The agricultural is distinguished from the pastoral state, by the more stationary habits of the people; and their increased numbers and more valuable possessions, soon demanding regular institutions, these gradually produce more civilized manners, and greater habits of industry.

There are nations, at the present period, in the agricultural state, and it affords many of the con-

veniencies and comforts which are most essential to our existence. Both in the pastoral and agricultural state, manufactures will have commenced. The skins of animals were no doubt first used for clothing; but man could not have advanced far, without discovering that these animals afforded him materials which might be wrought into a more commodious form. The earth, too, soon rewarded his toil with various products, whose fitness to defend him from the inclemencies of the seasons, must soon have become apparent.

If it were possible to discover in the mind of man an absence of the turbulent and malignant passions, the agricultural state must be viewed as that most conducive to peaceful habits, and to a life of ease and happiness. The inhabitants of a country in that state, from the very nature of their occupations, are more dispersed; they escape the contagion of vice, which spreads in all large communities; there is nothing irksome, or offensive, or injurious to health, in the labours of the field; and from the influence of these circumstances, the peasantry are generally found industrious and sober. Man might be happy, if

he could be satisfied with a life of tranquillity; but, throughout all the different stages of his progress, we are reminded of the same restless, mischievous, aspiring little animal.

As his nature must ever remain unchanged, let us hail the dawn of manufactures and of the arts, for these have not only rendered our physical existence more safe and comfortable, but the mind, in arriving at this stage, has opened to itself new sources of intellectual enjoyment. Every thing necessary or useful to man being produced, domestic exchanges take place; professions are established; the labour of every member of the community is made to contribute to the general stock; public functionaries are appointed to preserve order in the society, to watch over its interests, and to distribute that portion of the public wealth which is required for promoting the general welfare. Laws are established to guide and restrain these functionaries, and to define and secure those rights, which distinguish the social state from that rude condition of the species, where the safety of the person, and the enjoyment of any possession, must depend upon the efforts of the individual. Institutions are

formed for the instruction of the rising generation, and for the care and support of those who are no longer capable of subsisting themselves by their own labour, and thus the whole structure of society is complete.

May we congratulate ourselves, with equal reason, on the next advance which is made in enlarging the sphere of our action, and in refining upon those institutions, which assumed in their origin a simple form, unaided by artificial mechanism?

We have arrived, however, at this stage; which is distinguished by the progress of navigation, foreign commerce, colonization, and by the invention of a species of machinery, for effecting exchanges throughout the world, and for regulating the distribution of the general wealth of the community.

The art of navigation, although it had not reached its present state of improvement, was not unknown to the antients; and foreign commerce and colonization followed as consequences from the discovery of navigation. The use of the precious metals as a medium of exchange was also known; but the establishment of a pa-

per currency, and the creation of a national debt, must be considered as the peculiar offspring of modern ingenuity.

It is not very material to inquire how the world could have prospered so long, under a system which was not indebted at all to this invention. We may be satisfied that it has done so; but as we have not the same experience to assure us that the introduction of so singular a novelty will not be attended with important consequences, it may not be a superfluous labour to examine the features of this new creation, and to trace its probable influence upon our social establishments and relations, in the preservation of which every individual of the community is directly interested.

May we reasonably look forward to a further progression?—or have we arrived at that stage from whence we must inevitably fall back and retrace the circle anew?

The Chinese and Hindoos are, perhaps, exceptions; but the human race, after emerging from its first rude condition, is not likely to remain stationary for any considerable period. The Greeks and Romans had made great ad-

vances; but they were thrown back, rather by the corruption of their own institutions and manners, than by the arms of their conquerors; and they have never since regained the same eminence. The French Revolution threatened at one time to plunge all Europe into a state of barbarism, by subverting every existing institution, and annihilating every sentiment of morality and religion.

But the Greeks and Romans, although our rivals in poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, were unacquainted with some of the most useful arts, while the more important discoveries in physical science were altogether unknown to them. The art of printing appears to us so simple, that it is matter of surprise that it should have followed at so distant a period the invention of letters; and it might also have been expected, that, in the course of ages, accident would have disclosed to an ingenious and inquisitive people the use of optical glasses.

That the mysteries of chemistry, magnetism, and electricity, should have remained so long impervious to our research, is not surprising; nor is it wonderful, that successive theories

should have been wrecked before the solar system became the object of mathematical demonstration.

It is only recently that the theory of the circulation of the blood has been satisfactorily deduced; and all the wonders of chemistry have been revealed to us within a few short years. It is but the other day that our most accomplished chemists built systems upon a name, upon the existence of a something which eluded their keenest pursuit, although its existence was arbitrarily and unphilosophically assumed. This unknown something has now been ushered into being; its properties have been brought under the dominion of man. The science will probably advance, and, at a future period, we may see the terrific lightning resolved into an innocent gas. Already we have learned to disarm, in some degree, the rage of the thunderbolt, and, in the hands of our grandchildren, it may become a harmless plaything. Volcanos may be extinguished, and earthquakes be composed by the art of the chemist or the engineer.

But, without waiting for the consummation of human knowledge in these higher departments, I

propose to engage in a more modest inquiry on a subject which concerns us nearly? Have we yet reached the ultimate point in the arrangement and distribution of property? Or are we advancing still to more artificial combinations? Does our present financial system stand upon a solid foundation? Does it promote the well-being of the community? Have we no reason to apprehend that a sudden shock to it may be attended with fatal consequences? These are questions in which we are all deeply interested; and in the course of an attentive examination of them, we may perhaps arrive at some useful conclusions.

CHAPTER II.

Capital—Distribution of Property—National Debt.

WHATEVER is necessary, useful, or agreeable to man; whatever can be made instrumental in supplying his wants, or in administering to his comforts and gratifications, may be considered capital. For example, corn and other food, cattle, buildings, machinery, docks, ships, bridges, roads, canals, carriages, furniture, utensils, clothing, and goods and commodities of all kinds, timber, books, statues and paintings, jewels, and all the metals and minerals, which are rendered subservient to our use.

This definition of capital may appear too general, because it would comprehend air, water, and light; but, in reality, what can bear stronger characteristics of value than these inestimable blessings; and if their value be not felt and ap-

pretiated, it is because they are a common possession, which we all happily enjoy in an equal degree *. A government possessing unlimited powers, and actuated only by beneficent views, might perhaps, by wise institutions, place every species of property equally within the reach of every member of the community. Grant only a fertile soil, and abundant labour; and what should prevent a general and equal distribution of all the various productions of nature, and of human industry and skill?

Our wants, real or imaginary, furnish a constant impulse to the creation of capital, and its increase is not otherwise limited than as the labour of men and animals, the powers of machinery, and the capacity of the earth to produce, have their natural limits. In no country, however, is capital so abundant as to admit of the whole community being supplied with every thing necessary and desirable.

It is justly the object of our policy to promote the increase of capital, both with a view to the supply of every want of the community, and to

* Water is sold in many places.

the extension of that mechanism, by which the labour of all its members is usefully employed. The state, moreover, is enabled to draw a revenue in proportion to the extent of the capital of the country, and to the nature and variety of the exchanges which it undergoes in its progress to the ultimate consumer.

The national debt is not properly capital, although it ought to be guaranteed by tangible property; and the whole capital of the country is, in reality, pledged for its security. It is a debt owing by the whole body to particular individuals, and there is consequently an equality of debts and credits.

That part of the national debt which is owing to foreigners, is an actual incumbrance upon the country, for which its capital is pledged, and by which it is liable at all times to be deprived of a portion of its wealth.

The public debt, if it were confined within moderate bounds, would certainly operate in promoting some beneficial ends. It is a species of apparatus for effecting the circulation and distribution of every kind of property; it promotes consumption and exchanges, and it creates em-

ployment for branches of industry, which might not otherwise be brought into action. It is useful in furnishing a support for the old and infirm, for females and others, who cannot by their labour obtain a right to participate in the general produce. It gives a right to participate in that produce which is peaceably acquiesced in; whereas, without some such artificial arrangement, it might become the source of perpetual contention.

The public creditors are the organs for distributing the general wealth; but I fear we must not inquire too curiously into their title to the office, which is to them a very valuable possession. It may be useful, however, to distinguish those classes of the community, who obtain a legitimate right to participate in the common produce, in consequence of their contributing, in different ways, by their labour and their talents, to the well-being and prosperity of the society.

The agriculturist, and all engaged in the labours of husbandry, from the superintending landlord to the lowest rustic;—those engaged in manufactures and commerce, from the merchant to the meanest mechanic;—all, in short, who are

employed in producing or preserving what is necessary, useful, or agreeable to man, are unquestionably productive labourers.

They, too, are such, who are employed in inventing or improving useful machinery, and in promoting the progress of the useful and agreeable arts.

All who are employed in the defence of the state, and in the administration of its affairs.

All who are employed in framing or administering the laws, or in protecting the persons and property of the community.

All who are employed in forming the mind of man, or in drawing forth and improving his physical powers—the instructors of youth—those who educate him in the first instance, and who afterwards, by their literary labours, promote the advancement of useful knowledge, or contribute to his innocent gratification.

Those who by their skill contribute to the preservation of the species in a healthful state; who guard us from the natural ills to which we are liable throughout the whole progress of our existence, and especially in the later stages of it.

Those who are employed in preparing us for

a future state, and in advancing the soul to immortality; and who, in the meantime, render us better citizens of this world.

The stage-player and even the buffoon, who afford us innocent amusement, may be ranked as productive labourers.

The domestics of these several classes are also productive labourers, because they spare the labour of the master, who, in consequence, is enabled to devote a larger portion of his time and attention to useful employments. In fact, the servant co-operates with the master, and forms a part of the labouring machine. The boy who brushed the shoes of Milton, and the old woman who may have cut the corns of Shakespeare, were productive labourers; for had Milton and Shakespeare employed themselves in these base offices, we might never have known some of those noble strains of poetry, which have been the admiration and delight of successive generations. This boy and this old woman have done more perhaps for mankind than the whole race of men of fashion, and other idlers who have since been produced.

The unproductive classes are easily described: Those who, neither by their heads nor their hands,

contribute to the common stock; who live but to consume what is produced by the industry of others; who are in no way instrumental in providing for the safety and well-being of the community, constitute this numerous class. They are not merely inefficient members of the society; they are a burthen upon it; and, even when they do not happen to be vicious or mischievous, they are felt like locusts, which sweep away the produce of industrious toil.

It is by no means intended to maintain that *age* should not be allowed the privilege of enjoying ease after a course of useful labour; but it is incontestible that the community has a claim to the active services of all its members, and that those who do not contribute their labour, are burthensome excrescences.

It may also be admitted, under some reservations, that he who has performed eminent services for his country, may be allowed to secure to his family a part of the reward which those services have justly obtained; but disposed as we should be to respect the rights of property, it is essential that some limits should be placed to the right of purchasing a total exemption from la-

bour, and of accumulating those vast possessions, which secure to succeeding generations such an exemption, and render particular individuals independent of the community at large.

We feel a sort of indignation when we hear of an eastern prince surrounded by numerous slaves; encumbered with jewels; indulging in luxurious enjoyments; and engrossing and dissipating the wealth of an extensive territory; while its miserable inhabitants are pining away a hopeless existence, in the most abject state of poverty and wretchedness.

We forget that something like the same inequality of condition prevails among ourselves; that our grandees have their useless retinue, their sumptuous equipage, and luxurious enjoyments; while the only difference perceptible is, that, in the one case, the wealth of the country is engrossed by a single individual, and in the other by a favoured aristocracy.

Labour, far from being viewed as an evil, should be esteemed our best title to participate in the general produce. The food which is consumed, and the comforts which are enjoyed, should all be purchased by industrious toil: But

industry would not lose its stimulus; on the contrary, it would be promoted by a more equal distribution of property. The Americans and the Swiss are industrious; and we should not become less so by reducing the number of privileged individuals in the state, with all their lazy retainers.

Who would not be glad to see all those at present employed in administering to the pleasures of the pampered libertine; in supplying his ideal wants; and in exciting his mischievous propensities;—Who, I ask, would not rejoice to see the same hands employed in raising the cottage of the industrious peasant; in preparing for him the instruments of husbandry, necessary furniture, utensils and clothing; or in assisting him to rear grain and other food for the common benefit? Who would not be glad to see the whole dissolute tribe,* which is retained only for the

* It is desirable, I think, that women should be employed more generally in household offices, as well as in conducting many inferior branches of trade. We should, in this case, command a greater supply of men for our army and navy; and our streets would not be thronged in the same degree with bands of unfortunate wretches, whose miserable condition does not excite that commiseration, or that attention, which it deserves.

purposes of ostentation, converted into useful citizens, labourers, manufacturers, or (if need be), into hardy soldiers and sailors?

It is not contended that we should banish altogether what are termed luxuries; for if we discarded all costly and ingenious manufactures, we should in a great measure annihilate foreign commerce, and circumscribe our means of raising from the community a contribution for the general defence; in other words, we could not collect the same taxes.

Far from checking production, it should be the object of a benevolent policy to diffuse throughout the community every thing which can contribute to the comforts of our existence, or which can afford innocent gratification. Not only the useful, but the ornamental arts may be tolerated, and even encouraged without inconvenience, and with some advantages.

It does not follow, however, that the vast accumulation of possessions in particular families is beneficial; that a more equal distribution of property is impracticable; that it is reasonable to employ a large proportion of the population of a country in gratifying the caprices of a small num-

ber of individuals; or, that it is not desirable to introduce greater simplicity in our habits and social arrangements.

I could sometimes wish, that a Spartan legislator might arise among us; that the precious metals might again be buried in the earth; and that the ingenious invention of a paper currency might absolutely be forgotten. It is true that an inequality of condition would still exist; for the haughty baron, in the annihilation of the modern stockholder, would regain his supremacy. But, possessed of nothing more costly than iron and copper, we should at least escape some of those dangers, which are to be apprehended from our present artificial system of property.

In urging that the aristocracy is too highly favoured in our social arrangements, it was by no means my intention to insinuate that any part of our population is precluded from the enjoyment of civil liberty. The laws are administered with impartiality and intelligence, and the person of the subject is as well protected as the nature of human passions will permit, in almost any state of society. Property is also sufficiently protected; but still, our laws favour, in a degree to be inju-

rious, the * accumulation and perpetuation of large possessions in particular families; those in favour of males, and of the first-born, promote the monopoly, which cannot be justified on any rational or equitable principle. In the feudal times, there were sufficient reasons for the law which excludes females, and gives a preference to primogeniture, and even now, the indefinite subdivision of landed and other real property, would be attended with some inconvenience; but this is an inconvenience which it could not be difficult to guard against.

Upon what principle, moreover, have those laws been framed which prevent the combinations of journeymen and manufacturers? The labour of the artisan is his sole property, and yet we insist on fixing an arbitrary price upon it. Why should we thus favour the acquisition of wealth by the master-manufacturer and merchant? and why should we not allow competition in this, as

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* The project of an agrarian law was absurd; but there was some reason in favour of the Roman Law, which limited the possession of land, by any one citizen, to 3 or 400 acres.

in all other cases, to determine the value of the commodity?

A great concession is made in favour of the unproductive classes, when it is admitted that, as stockholders, they may, to a certain degree, perform the office of an useful instrument. Without being conscious of it, perhaps, they act as an organ through which a part of the national wealth is circulated and distributed; and, by creating a demand for various productions which might not otherwise be called forth, they encourage industry.

But if the taxes which the public creditors ultimately receive, were left in the hands of the land-proprietor, the merchant, and the manufacturer, would they not be applied in the same manner, and with the same good effects? Undoubtedly they would; but it may still be admitted that the national debt, in creating a new order of consumers and distributors, gives an additional spring to industry. Indeed, the chief argument which it is proposed to maintain, will have for its object to shew, that this debt has now become too important an organ in the political body, and that the smallest derangement in it must prove fatal to the whole system.

Is the national debt capable of indefinite augmentation? How long can a nation continue to borrow? And are there no limits to taxation?

It is evident that the faculty of creating debt must ultimately depend upon the means possessed of discharging the obligations which it imposes; for although a nation may, for a time, borrow (as we do at present) for the purpose of paying the interest of its debt, it cannot continue to do so for ever.

Production, exchanges, and consumption, are the sources of taxation; and if these be unlimited, the taxes may be extended indefinitely. We take back from the public creditor a proportion of what we pay him; but can we take back the whole? How has it happened that former theorists erred so remarkably in pretending to assign limits to the national debt, and to the power of taxation?

They had no experience of the vast extent to which production, exchanges, and consumption can be carried.

They seem not to have been sufficiently aware of the extent to which a paper circulation can be carried; nor were they at all aware that such a currency could subsist without the aid of specie.

They seem not to have made sufficient allowance for the decrease which takes place in the value of money, in consequence of the increase of paper currency, and of that fictitious capital which the national debt itself creates.

They appear not to have reflected, that the government, in taking away, by means of taxes, the property, or a portion of the property of particular classes of the community, transfer it to other classes, thus forcing or accelerating its circulation. The property is not lost to the community; it is only transferred to other hands, by which it is subsequently distributed.

The debt is a sort of fiction, the government possessing the power, to a certain degree, of taking back from the public creditor what it ostensibly gives him.

We must not hence conclude that debt and taxes have no natural or proper limits; or that the enormous magnitude of our present incumbrances, is not a most serious and alarming evil.

It is not possible to determine at what precise point the power of raising taxes must fail; for it is scarcely possible to ascertain to what extent the produce, manufactures, and commerce of a

country can be carried; and even if this could be ascertained, it would not be possible to determine what revenue could be drawn by the state. If the taxes were paid in kind, it might be practicable to take from the people a certain proportion of all produce; but, even in this case, the contribution would not be of any determinate value, because a government cannot fix prices or force consumption.

Difficult, however, as it may be to prescribe limits to taxation, there are certain indications which give warning when taxes have been carried too far. The existence of smuggling and of other evasions; the practice of adulterating consumable articles; the diminution of production and consumption, and the abandonment of particular branches of trade and manufacture, are all morbid symptoms, which furnish a presumption that the taxes operate oppressively and injuriously. These effects may, it is true, be partial, and originate in an injudicious application of the power of taxation; but this in itself is an evil, and, when such symptoms appear, there is reason always to apprehend that the whole system is deranged.

One great test (if any were wanting), that the

national debt, and the course of taxation which it gives birth to, have been carried beyond all proper bounds, may be deduced from the fact of a decrease being found to take place in the produce of the old revenue as new taxes are imposed; and this fact is become matter of notoriety in England.

It would be a superfluous labour to demonstrate what all must already have perceived. We are all sensible of the inconvenient magnitude of our present incumbrances. The whole property of the country is mortgaged, and virtually belongs to a few individuals. The public creditors have acquired a right to command our labour; they may, if they think fit, appropriate the produce of the country; withdraw its capital from circulation; and if they do not proceed so far as to starve the nation, we are indebted to them for their forbearance. We have taxed the present generation to the utmost, and have thrown enormous burdens upon posterity. We are daily adding to those burdens; and we are reduced to the necessity of borrowing the very interest which we undertake to pay. Will there be no end to this? Can we proceed in the same course for ever?

Have we reason to believe that posterity will be better able than the present generation to bear those extraordinary burdens which have been imposed by the follies or the misfortunes of the present age? Will it not have its own follies, its wars, its dissipation and corruption? Experience might furnish an answer to some of these questions; but it will be proper to examine more minutely the footing upon which we stand at present, by an attentive reference to those circumstances in our situation, which afford either just grounds of hope, or salutary admonitions of the approach of danger.

CHAPTER III.

Sources from whence the Taxes are paid.—Agriculture.—Manufactures.—Domestic and Foreign Commerce.

Is it true, that agriculture is the chief source of national wealth, and that the labour of the husbandman alone realizes more than he consumes; that the manufacturer does not add to the general stock, because he produces no more than what is sufficient to replace his consumption?

All labour which contributes to the comfort and well-being of man, is productive. It is not merely food which he requires; and the productions of the earth alone, would not supply all those comforts of which his nature is susceptible.

The manufacturer aids the labour of the husbandman even in drawing forth the fruits of the earth. He prepares his instruments of husbandry, and the labour which creates the instrument, is actually identified with that by which it is afterwards brought into action. He prepares the dwelling and clothing of the husbandman, and supplies those wants, which the individual could not himself supply, without withdrawing a large portion of his labour from the business of husbandry. The manufacturer, therefore, co-operates, and virtually contributes to the stock of agricultural labour.

Indeed, he spares the husbandman much more than the equivalent of his own labour; for the latter could by no means fabricate for himself the same instruments, and other articles of primary necessity, within the same space of time; it being indisputable that the division of employments tends to augment the quantity of efficient labour, by producing greater expertness and skill on the part of the artisan.

Even in supplying the first and most necessary article of subsistence (corn), the labour of the manufacturer may have as large a share as that

of the husbandman. In many countries there is not a sufficiency grown for the consumption of the inhabitants; and it is often found necessary therefore to import grain from abroad. Here the hand which constructs the ship, and that which produces the merchandise given in exchange for the corn, may be said, without much violence to language, to perform the offices of husbandry. They produce corn.

The manufacturer, in this case, realizes also more than he consumes, for the corn must not only be sufficient to replace his consumption (or in other words to pay for his labour), but it must repay the labour of all who are employed in obtaining it, including the profits of the merchant, and the contribution paid to the state in taxes.

In all cases, the manufacturer not only realizes, in the enhanced value of the commodity, the price of his own subsistence and that of his family, the subsistence or profit of the master-manufacturer and merchant; but he also realizes the taxes levied from him, which furnish subsistence to a larger class of the community; the public creditors and the servants of the state.

It is obvious that the wood in the forest and

the iron in the mine, do not bear the same value, which they acquire when those materials are converted into a ship. The labour applied to the construction of this noble engine, realizes in general as much exchangeable value as it would have done had it been applied in rearing corn; and it is frequently exchanged for a quantity of that article, not merely sufficient to replace the consumption of the artisan, but equal to what could have been produced had the same labour been employed in domestic husbandry.

The end of all labour is to provide for the comfortable subsistence of man, and it never realizes itself permanently. The pyramids of Egypt will moulder and fall, and the most durable substances (jewels and the precious metals,) in the course of, time disappear.* We are told that the resplendent diamond is only a bit of crystallized charcoal.

It is not necessary that labour should realize itself permanently. The fruits of the earth, the most valuable of all productions, vanish in a few months; but they are perpetually renewed by the application of the same labour; and it can scarcely be considered less productive than that which

reared the pyramids of Egypt, or which is bestowed by a band of miserable slaves and convicts on the mines of America.

Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are only branches of one great operation, which has for its object to provide subsistence, and to ameliorate the condition of man. The first produces the material; the second fashions it for use; and commerce finally conveys it to the consumer. The individuals employed in this great process, act like the different parts of a machine, and that machine works for the benefit of all.

It may not be very essential to estimate the comparative force and value of different parts of the same machine; but as attempts have been made of late to depreciate one great branch of our national industry, and as it is of importance that every trace of error on a subject so highly interesting to us, should if possible be effaced, it will be proper to examine the question with some attention.

That a people may live and be happy without foreign commerce, is most certain; but that its external commerce is essential to the political existence of Great Britain, situated as the country is at present, there cannot be a doubt.

The object of foreign commerce is to exchange commodities which are produced in one country in greater abundance than its domestic consumption requires, for commodities which it does not produce, but which are either necessary or desirable to its people.

It would be a sufficient merit in foreign commerce if it were made apparent that our wants are supplied by its means; but in reality many incidental benefits of great value are derived from it. Branches of industry which might never otherwise have been called forth, are encouraged and supported by it; and with us it is become the most abundant source of the national revenue.

The profit upon the export trade, is allowed to constitute an increase of capital; but it is not this profit alone by which a nation or a government is benefited. The whole sum of its exports or imports becomes an acquisition of capital, because domestic consumption of home produce, being fully supplied by a portion of the labour of the community, the surplus of that labour would be lost if it could not be applied to purchase foreign commodities.

The commercial system attached a great degree of importance to the export trade; but it is absurd to give a preference to exports or imports, because the one cannot subsist without the other. If we have not something to give to our neighbours in exchange, we cannot obtain the produce of their industry; so on the other hand, if they have nothing to offer in return, we shall never gratuitously supply them with our commodities. The precious metals are a commodity, and the quantity of this article throughout the world is very limited. No country can pay for its importations *generally* in gold and silver, without exhausting its stock in a very few years; and no country could dispose of its exports generally for those metals without exhausting, in the same manner, the stock of its neighbours, and accumulating a useless stock of an article, whose value depends chiefly upon its rareness. Foreign trade taken in the gross must ultimately resolve itself into a barter, although particular branches of it may be carried on by means of the precious metals.

The barter is sometimes simple and direct, as when we exchange our staples for the wines of France. In other instances it is complex, as when

we give our woollens for the bullion of Spain, and send the same bullion to China for the purchase of tea. In this case we exchange woollens for tea. The bullion is not the end; it is procured as a means or instrument; and although the commercial system would represent the trade with Spain as the beneficial trade to England, it is actually nothing more than a preparatory process for supplying ourselves with tea.

It is admitted, at the same time, that this first transaction is attended with advantage; for besides that it employs men and capital, China might not be able to give us tea for our woollens, since she could not exchange those woollens for cotton and opium, the commodities required by her people from other countries.

It is also, no doubt, desirable to have the command of a certain quantity of the precious metals, because, when we send armies abroad, or subsidise foreign troops, bullion is the most convenient commodity we can supply for their subsistence, it being exchangeable in all countries for all other commodities.

The double operations of commerce which sometimes take place, shew however a great want

of mercantile skill. For example, Great Britain was accustomed, until of late years, to export bullion to China for the purchase of tea, and the same bullion was immediately afterwards sent to India in payment for cotton and opium, imported from thence into China. It became manifest, at length, that, by sending the bullion direct to India from England, the expence and risk of one voyage would be saved; and the East India Company have actually obtained an advantage, equivalent to this risk and expence, by adopting an arrangement for that purpose.* The proceeds of the consignments from India are received for bills upon the Bengal Government, and are appropriated to the purchase of tea; and thus opium and cotton are virtually exchanged for that article, without the intervention of money, which is generally an expensive instrument of commerce.

At the present moment, the East India Company send bullion *from China to England*; and although this may appear an extraordinary revolution, the circumstance is easily explained.

* Mr Myers, the then accountant-general, had I believe the merit of first proposing this arrangement.

The company in sending bullion to China at a former period, committed a mistake. It ought to have been sent to India, where it would at once have discharged the debt of Great Britain to China, and the debt of China to India. It is now sent from China to England, because Great Britain, upon its account of tribute and commerce collectively, has a demand upon India; and India, in discharge of a part of this debt, remits direct to England what is owing to it by China, instead of bringing away bullion from thence, and conveying it subsequently from India to England, at a vast increase of charge.

But how is China enabled to supply this bullion, it being evident that a country which is not possessed of mines, cannot continue to export the precious metals for any considerable period? I reply, that America, and the Continent of Europe incur a commercial debt to China, and bullion is sent annually to that country from the western world.

But why should this bullion pass and repass the Atlantic ocean? From whence, too, does North America obtain her supplies of the precious metals? The answer to these questions

brings to our notice an error which takes place in the present transaction. England should exchange her demand upon China and India, for the commercial debt which is incurred to those countries by the United States, or for the debt which may ultimately be incurred to America by the country which consumes her produce.

If this country should happen to be Great Britain, the whole account might be settled by a simple bill transaction, without the intervention of bullion; and even if America should have no demand upon England, or her western colonies, or upon the Continent of Europe, her remittances to China and India could still be made with greater economy, by sending the bullion to London. It would there purchase a bill on China or India, and the risk and expence of one voyage at least would thus be saved to one of the parties. Great Britain has at present a demand both on India and China. Upon the latter country, indirectly, for the amount of its debt to India; and directly upon India for the surplus territorial revenue, and for the amount of the private fortunes which are accumulated in that country by British subjects, the annual income of

that capital exceeding at present the commercial balance in favour of India.

The debts of nations to each other may be assigned over, and settled precisely in the same manner as the debts of individuals; and, indeed, what are nations but an aggregation of individuals?

To return. Foreign commerce performs a a useful and important office in supplying our wants; and it also operates beneficially in calling into action branches of the national industry which might not otherwise find employment.

In observing that exportation takes place after domestic consumption is supplied, it was not intended to assert that every member of the community has previously been furnished with as large a quantity of domestic produce as is necessary to his comfort. It would be a most desirable state of things if such were the case; but, unfortunately, this state of things is never likely to exist. We export what would contribute greatly to the enjoyments of our own people; but if the constitution of society, and the nature of man be such, that the article with which we supply foreign nations, would not be produced merely to alleviate the wants of the indigent among us,

it is still desirable that this exportation should take place, because the industrious poor benefit by it in another way, Warm clothing is very desirable to every individual; but although the industrious manufacturer may not previously have been supplied with what his own hand has fashioned, when we give our excellent woollens for the baubles of France, he nevertheless derives an essential benefit. To obtain this bauble, the rich capitalist gives him food, and it would not be given probably without such a motive, for the wealthy consumer is already supplied with every article of domestic produce. It is not the manufacturer who exchanges a valuable commodity for a useless toy. He obtains what is useful and indispensable to him; his wants are supplied; and the man of fortune remains possessed of the bauble.

Let it not be supposed, however, that those productions which have been termed "evanescent," ought to be undervalued. There is nothing absolutely imperishable, and it is fortunate that such is the case; for if it were not necessary to renew perpetually the various articles of consumption, there would exist no incitement to

labour; and we should either fall into a state of miserable listlessness, or destroy each other purely from want of occupation.

We make a judicious exchange in giving our most valuable staples for the rhubarb of China; the bark of Peru; or even a mineral water; since these may all contribute to the prolongation of life in a healthful state. The industrious poor are at the same time employed and subsisted by the very means which it is found necessary to resort to for the purpose of supporting the feeble constitutions of those, whom indolence and luxury have enervated.

It is not the merit of an excellent medicine which constitutes the value of our external commerce. It may be maintained, that a part of the labour of the country would be well employed in procuring an article which should vanish, like the colours of the rainbow, the instant it reached our shores, for, besides that labour promotes peaceful habits, it is desirable that every member of the community should have employment, in order that he may acquire a title to participate in the general stock.

Agriculture and manufactures do not employ

a large proportion of the population of Great Britain at present; and they would employ a still smaller proportion if we manufactured only for domestic consumption.

It is computed, that in Great Britain about two-sixths of the population are employed in the labours of husbandry; and if this number can subsist the whole community, the surplus labour of the country must be applied to other objects. It is desirable, that as large a portion of it as possible should be employed in producing manufactures which are used or required by our own people; and when these have been produced in sufficient abundance, we cannot do better than employ our labour in producing what will exchange for foreign produce and manufactures. If these foreign commodities be of real use, the country will have gained essentially by adding to the stock of its comforts; and even if they be fleeting and "evanescent," we shall have experienced no actual loss. Labour, when not excessive, is not an evil: as far as the population can be employed in useful pursuits, the country benefits essentially; but if it be not practicable to employ the whole labour of the country usefully,

it is still desirable that it should be employed innocently.

It will scarcely be denied, that we do well to supply ourselves with wholesome wines, sugar, cotton, tea, coffee, spices, and other articles, which our soil and climate will not produce, for they all conduce to a comfortable existence. It may be objected that some of these articles are not necessary. We lived formerly, it is true, without tea; but if it be a beverage, harmless in itself, and agreeable to our people, we do well to purchase it with a portion of our surplus labour, even if the use of it were not attended with the incidental advantage of diminishing the consumption of a pernicious spirit.

It is absurd to contend that the nation loses by exchanging durable for perishable commodities. Tea, no doubt, is speedily consumed, but if we have a surplus of hardware and woollens, why should we not give a portion of those commodities to purchase a temporary enjoyment? They cost us nothing if they have been produced by labour, which could not otherwise be employed, and when we have a sufficiency of those articles, the superfluity is absolutely useless, except for

the purposes of such an exchange. For any other purposes the country would not be richer, by reason of an immense accumulation of woollens, hardware, and crockery. Our manufactures certainly add to the wealth, in adding to the comforts of other nations, and we should rejoice that they do so, for this places them in a sort of dependence upon us. The spirit of philanthropy may have no proper place in the consideration of a commercial question between nations; but we have no cause to repine, while our labour is employed in giving us a command over the resources of other countries. We may give them commodities more durable than coffee or tea; but our most valuable manufactures in time decay, and our neighbours are not, from their imperishable nature, rendered independent of all future supplies.

Agriculture and manufactures, it has been observed, mutually promote each other; and in the same manner, manufactures and foreign commerce are mutually subservient to each other. The one furnishes materials; but these materials would not, in many cases, be brought into existence, if commerce were not at hand to

conduct them to the distant consumer—if, in short, there were *not* a foreign demand for them.

If the population of a country cannot generally find employment, emigration must take place, or a part of the community will have recourse to robbery and plunder for subsistence; rapine will often, indeed, precede emigration.

Agriculture employing only about two-sixths of the population of England, what would become of the rest of its inhabitants, if their labour could not be rendered useful to the community? They would not of course be allowed to share in the common stock without some title; and they must either obtain a subsistence by violence and plunder, or they must quit the country.

The Highlands of Scotland, thinly as they are peopled, cannot support their present numbers, in consequence of a change which has taken place in the course of husbandry in that country. Land in a state of pasturage, although it may be more profitable to the landlord, will neither subsist nor employ the same number of individuals, which it is capable of supporting in a state of tillage; and by converting a part of the Highlands into sheep-walks, many of its inhabitants

have been driven from the seats of their forefathers.*

In the Highlands, the mechanism of society is not complete, for the consumer resides generally at a distance; and the local demand which should give birth to manufactures and commerce, does not exist. The produce of the soil is conveyed to other quarters to support the absent proprietor and his domestics, and those who administer to his wants or gratification.

The change in our national manners and habits, rather than the dreariness of the climate, has caused the hardy Highlander to migrate to the south; but his absence is of great detriment to his native land. Suppose the proprietor to reside on the spot, the consumption of his family, servants, dependants, and cattle, must be supplied from the local produce; and a portion of the land which is now appropriated to sheep-walks, would be made to produce corn. It would then employ more labour; and would subsist a much greater number of individuals.

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* See Lord Selkirk's pamphlet on this subject.

The population increasing as it would do, with the increase of subsistence, manufactures would be called for, and although the chieftain might supply himself and his family from the banks of the Ganges, the peasantry would clothe themselves on the spot, and the class of manufacturers would thus arise among them.

The produce of sheep-farms is not consumed on the spot. It is sent to a distance, and supports manufactures in other parts of the country. Extend the same system of husbandry to its utmost bounds, and the Highlands, instead of maintaining a population of 300,000 persons, would subsist only a few shepherds; and the country would fall back to the pastoral state.

Ireland experiences a disadvantage of the same kind; and that propensity of the higher orders to crowd to the metropolis, is to be lamented on many accounts, for, independently of the moral and political evils which it may engender, it tends to prevent that equal distribution of the population, which is best calculated to draw forth the resources of a country, and to promote the well-being of its inhabitants generally.

Certain manufactures can only be carried on with advantage in particular situations, and by the united labour of great numbers. Particular land may also be better adapted to pasturage than to tillage, and may be productive only under the former course of husbandry; but, admitting all this, it is still to be lamented that so large a portion of the population should resort to the principal cities, where many become idle who might have been industrious, and who, having become idle, soon become vicious.

In the foregoing remarks, foreign commerce has been considered with relation to the very useful office which it performs in supplying our wants, and in employing the labour of the country; but it performs another very important office, in enabling the government to draw a revenue for the support of various classes of the community; the army and navy—the servants of the state—the priesthood, and other functionaries, as well as the public creditors, and pensioners of various descriptions.

We export little of the immediate produce of our own soil, or what are termed raw materials. Our supplies to other countries, consist generally

of articles in the last or most perfect stage of manufacture; for such are the industry and ingenuity of our people, such the superiority of our machinery, and the extent of our capital, that we do not permit our customers to finish any part of the work which we have commenced.

The government levies a tax upon the commodities exported in various shapes, and in almost every stage of manufacture. In many cases the tax is direct, but in all cases it is levied; for, if it be not imposed upon the particular article exported, it is levied upon articles which the manufacturer consumes, and which he obtains in exchange for the produce of his own labour. Whether the fabric itself, or the manufacturer, or the articles which he consumes, be taxed, the effect is nearly the same.

Our forty millions of exports then will have made ample contributions in different ways before they finally leave us: and on that occasion, also, they add largely to the revenues of the state, by contributing to the customs.

These exports procure for us forty millions of imports, which are alike subjected to the same process of taxation throughout all the multiplied

exchanges which take place. They not only pay an import duty, but they undergo afterwards the operation of the taxes repeatedly, until they reach the ultimate consumer. Even if they escape a direct excise, they are made to contribute in various shapes to the revenues of the state in their passage through the hands of the importing merchant, the wholesale dealer, the retailer, and others.

Upon mere fiscal considerations, it is of advantage that consumable articles should be of a perishable nature, for the extent to which the revenue of the government can be carried, depends much upon the frequency of exchanges and the rapidity of consumption. The very caprice of the opulent operates beneficially in this respect; the revolutions of fashion, irrational as they appear, having the effect of accelerating the consumption of the more durable commodities, while their reproduction furnishes new objects of taxation. If our plate, furniture, and other articles were handed down from generation to generation, in the same state, many professions must be abandoned, and the government would find it difficult to draw the same revenue from its subjects.

Great Britain, in addition to her own internal resources, possesses at present vast financial resources in her numerous colonies, and especially in the extensive territory which she has acquired in the east. She commands in that branch of her empire, the labour of 50 or 60 millions of men, who are not at all deficient in industry or manufacturing skill, and who indeed supply us with fabrics of unequalled delicacy and beauty.

The annual revenue drawn from our Indian possessions, exceeds at present eighteen millions sterling, and the country might be expected to yield a much more ample tribute, if we adverted only to the extent of the territory and population, the fertility of the soil, and the favourable nature of the climate. But there are peculiar circumstances which seem to place limits to the powers of taxation in India. The habits of the people are simple; the great body of them consume only the common necessaries of life, (grain, vegetables, fruits, and a little salt,) and even in their extravagance, in their marriage-feasts, their religious oblations, and in maintaining a numerous retinue, their expenditure is confined, in a great degree, to articles of this description. Their

habitations are mean; the use of furniture is almost unknown, and the climate scarcely calls for clothing. There are consequently few objects of taxation, and the government have found it necessary to place their principal imposts on the land, a mode of taxing productions in the aggregate.

Duties are levied on the external commerce of the country: a single article (opium) contributes more, under a monopoly, than the whole export and import trade of Bengal taken in the aggregate. Duties are also imposed on a few articles of domestic consumption; and among these salt holds the most distinguished place. It is productive, because, while it is an article of general consumption, the government, from particular circumstances, has it in its power to tax the whole consumption, and to fix the ratio of the tax almost at its discretion. Monopolies are in general extremely prejudicial; but the salt monopoly in Bengal is perhaps the most unobjectionable tax which could be devised, as applicable to the inhabitants of Hindoostan. In a country, where it is easy for the officers of the government to commit oppression and to practise

abuse, the discovery of a tax which the people pay voluntarily, and almost without being conscious of its existence, must be considered singularly fortunate. The opium monopoly is a tax of the same description, possessing this additional advantage, that it is levied from the subjects of foreign states, the Chinese, and the Malays.

Although nearly the whole revenue of our Indian territory is expended in the administration and defence of the country, we must not hence conclude that Great Britain does not derive an essential advantage from those valuable possessions.

A part of the charge on the Indian revenue (the interest on the debt, and the salaries of the public servants) is resolved ultimately into a payment or tribute to Great Britain; for a considerable proportion of the amount being paid to British subjects who do not expend it on the spot, it constitutes a capital, or debt, owing by India to Great Britain.

For example—at least four-fifths of the Indian debt, amounting to about 30 millions, is held by Europeans, who have in consequence a demand upon the country to the extent of at least 1½ million Sterling per annum. The money is not

required on the spot, for it is the income of fortunes acquired in India; and both the annual income, and the capital itself, are ultimately remitted to England by means of commodities, the produce and manufacture of India.

In the same manner, the savings from the salaries of the public servants, as well as from the income of private individuals residing in India, whether such incomes arise from the profits of commerce, or from capital already created, (houses, factories, machinery, docks, &c.) all constitute in the end a demand upon India of the same nature *. The income of the individual is realized in the first instance in money; and if commodities could not be sent with greater advantage, bullion would actually be exported to Great Britain in payment of that part of the income which is not expended on the spot, and ultimately of the capital which is gradually accumulated. The Indian landlord, resident in England, would receive his rents much in the

* I estimate this private debt (independently of the public tribute payable by India to Great Britain) at two millions sterling per annum at the least.

same way as the Irish or English proprietor residing in the metropolis; but although the tribute drawn from our Indian empire would then be more apparent, and would probably be more gratifying to this country, it would neither be so valuable, nor so permanent; for the country could not long continue to pay a tribute in the precious metals.

The superiority of our navy may be said to attach our most remote colonies to the body from whence these branches have sprung. Our admirable marine seems almost to remove the intervening seas; but if our intercourse with these valuable possessions were liable to interruption, even for a short period, Great Britain must infallibly lose a large portion of her vital strength. It must not falsely be assumed that we can depend upon our own internal resources, because France without colonies, without capital or credit, supports a numerous population, sends her armies to every part of the continent of Europe, and appears never to experience a want.

Men to exist, require, it is true, little beyond food and clothing, and these are produced in sufficient abundance in Great Britain; but there

is a wide difference in the present situation of the two countries. The government of France, exercising the most despotic authority, commands the whole labour and capital of the country, and it has arrogated the right of distributing, at its discretion, the entire produce of the national industry. Its army of course constitutes that part of the population which is first provided for; and with the exception of a few articles of military stores, which are almost every where produced, an army is maintained and subsisted in the same manner as the rest of the population. France, moreover, is not at present incumbered with debt; her territory is fertile; and as her ruler embraces in his dominion nearly the whole continent of Europe, he is enabled to command the produce of almost every soil and every climate for the support of his numerous legions.

Great Britain, on the contrary, is borne down with an enormous debt, and the property of the nation, as well as the produce of its future industry, may be considered as mortgaged to a particular class of men. The aggregate of the wants of its population is not certainly augmented in consequence, nor can the public creditor,

consume all which he has a right to claim. He fortunately becomes indebted in his turn to other members of the community, who supply his wants; and the government itself, although so largely a debtor, commands, in a certain degree, the produce of the national industry, as well as the capital of its own creditors; but still it is liable to be seriously embarrassed by the magnitude of its debt and establishments; and it cannot, with a breath, surmount all difficulties, after the manner of the uncontrolled ruler of France. We may account, in some measure, for our being enabled to support our immense burthens; but it by no means follows, that the evil may not be aggravated so far as to become intolerable to the people, and absolutely destructive of our national prosperity.

Great Britain, from the ingenuity, industry, and enterprise of her people; from the excellence and variety of her machinery; from the extent of her capital, and the stability of her credit; from the possession of numerous and valuable colonies; from the heroic valour of her navy and army; and from the high character maintained by government; from the combined influence of these propi-

tious circumstances, has found itself in a condition to make those extraordinary efforts which have appeared so far beyond its natural forces. But let us not flatter ourselves with a dangerous illusion, and fancy that these wonderful efforts can be continued and extended without limits. Let us carefully explore the foundations of our strength, and, by timely appliances, give to our national power its utmost stability. Let us, with a scrupulous attention, examine those parts of the political body which shew symptoms of decay, or conceal the germs of corruption, whose baneful influence, if it be not seasonably counteracted, must soon deface and destroy the fairest form, and leave us only the memory of an idol which we have been accustomed to regard with sentiments of love and veneration.

CHAPTER IV.

Influence of the National Debt, and of Paper Currency, upon Prices, Exchanges, and Income.

THE national debt bears in some respects the character of a paper currency; for it is exchangeable at all times for all other property, and it is in reality an assignment granted by the nation to particular individuals, under which they become entitled to appropriate a portion of the national produce.

By "prices," we understand the relations of value which commodities bear to each other;

and they have generally been estimated by assuming the precious metals as a general standard, or measure of value.

The precious metals never were a perfect standard or scale, calculated to exhibit the value of other commodities; because the relation between gold and silver, and other articles, was liable always to be affected, in consequence of an augmentation or diminution in the quantity of those metals in use, or of a greater or less quantity being required for the purposes of circulation, according to the state of commerce, the extent of population, and other circumstances.

They constituted, however, the best standard within our reach; for the produce of the mines being limited, and requiring a certain degree of labour, gold and silver were less liable to sudden and violent fluctuations of value than any other natural production.

Those metals have a real value in use; and, from being portable, durable, and little liable to be counterfeited or adulterated, they were better calculated than any other production to become a convenient and safe instrument for effecting exchanges.

Precious stones have little value in use, and the quantity produced is too limited to admit of their being applied to general purposes.

What would be the consequence of a vast addition being suddenly made to the quantity of the precious metals in use, either by the discovery of new mines, or by the application of greater skill and industry in working those which are already known?

It is evident that the relation between gold and silver, and other commodities, would undergo an immediate change, or, in other words, prices would rise, and the precious metals would no longer be found to answer the purposes of a standard or scale for determining the value of other articles.

It is matter of notoriety that prices have risen of late years in England; but this has not happened from any increase in the quantity of the precious metals in circulation. The stock of gold and silver in Europe has, no doubt, been augmented since the discovery of the mines of America, but a larger quantity of those metals was in fact required to answer the purposes of

an increasing population, and an extended commerce; and, in Great Britain, a want of the precious metals is actually experienced at the same moment that we find an increase to have taken place in the price of other commodities *.

This apparent inconsistency is easily explained; prices have risen, not upon the scale afforded by gold and silver, but upon a comparison with a paper currency which has been established of late years in Great Britain, upon a footing altogether independent of the precious metals.

* There are a few exceptions. Some articles of colonial produce, (cotton, sugar, &c.) and some of our domestic manufactures have fallen in price. This has arisen partly from the cheapness of the raw material obtained from our colonies, and partly from our having continued to manufacture to a great extent for the supply of a foreign market, from which we are unexpectedly excluded. Our warehouses have been filled with goods of this description, and our merchants and manufacturers have been ruined in consequence. But all articles of general consumption, the produce of our domestic industry, (corn, hay, cattle, coals, &c.) have risen in price; and corn, in particular, which has been assumed by writers on political economy as the great object of comparison, has doubled its price within the last fifty years.

The act of the legislature exempting the bank of England from the obligation to discharge its notes in specie, has operated precisely in the same manner as a vast and sudden augmentation of the precious metals, and it is unquestionable that this measure has tended materially to disturb the whole system, under which prices, exchanges, and all the relations of property were previously regulated. The act in question may have been the offspring of necessity; but if this necessity did not originate in extravagance, improvidence, or mismanagement, it is deeply to be lamented as a national misfortune.

While the paper of the bank represented gold and silver, it represented every other species of property, and it was not liable to any fluctuation of value, beyond that which took place when an occasional superabundance, or a temporary deficiency was experienced, in the quantity of the precious metals in circulation in a particular country or province.

But when the bank was freed from the obligation to give specie in return for its notes, those notes became virtually an arbitrary order

or assignment, authorizing the holder of them to appropriate a portion of the national stock; and, strange as it may appear, when the possible consequences are adverted to, the power of issuing these orders was granted by the legislature, without limitation, to a corporation, whose proceedings are rarely brought under the supervision of Parliament, and who, exercising a most important privilege by the favour and protection of the executive government, must be esteemed in a great degree its instrument.

While the bank was compelled to make its payments in specie, a natural and just restriction was placed on the issue of its notes, by the limitation of its means to discharge them; but emitting, as it does at present, obligations which it is not compelled to satisfy, there is no circumstance which imposes any kind of check to prevent the excessive issue of its notes, or which tends to regulate the supply of a paper currency with due regard to the actual demand for that instrument.

The numerous banking establishments which have been formed in Great Britain, have so com-

pletely inundated the country with their currency, that the precious metals have been excluded almost entirely from * circulation; and it is to this circumstance, chiefly, that we must refer the scarcity of gold and silver, from which so much inconvenience has been experienced. The scanty supply of bullion obtained of late years from South America, the suspension of our commerce with the continent of Europe, and the necessity we have been under of furnishing large remittances for the subsistence of our armies abroad, and for the payment of foreign † subsidies, have no doubt operated to produce a temporary deficiency of the precious metals in this country; but these circumstances do not account for their total disappearance.

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* Mr Hume observes, that it was unlucky Lycurgus did not think of introducing a paper currency, as a means of banishing the precious metals; but we have shewn more ingenuity than this excellent patriot, in the discovery of a happy expedient for the purpose.

† These are not quite so burthensome as they have been heretofore; but some still exist unfortunately. Not finding any party nearer at hand who would receive our bounty, we have been content to subsidize the King of Persia, to

Let it be supposed that the country has been drained of the precious metals, and that there is no foreign demand for its produce and manufactures, in what manner will it discharge a foreign debt? This almost supposes a case of bankruptcy; but it is a case which has nearly occurred; and in the hope of averting or mitigating the evil, we have had recourse to the expedient of guarding our departed treasures by penal statutes.

But under circumstances approaching to such a state of things, how would the foreign debt be discharged?

In the first instance, in bank notes; but as these notes cannot be carried abroad, the holder of a bill upon England, (which represents a debt owing by the country,) must realize it in

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enable him to support an idle pageantry, and to augment a seraglio already abundantly large. It would be difficult to shew that our supplies to Persia are likely to be appropriated to any better purpose. All the embassies to and from Persia, since the first in 1799, have been raree-shows, or something worse. The people of England are scarcely aware that they pay dearly for this trifling, because the payment is made in India; but the nation must ultimately bear the expence.

some way. He will procure gold and silver if he can, because they are everywhere exchangeable for all other property; but in proportion to their scarcity, he will find it necessary to give a larger amount of his bank paper in return. Here we perceive distinctly, that paper and the precious metals are no longer identified together; and, however we may flatter ourselves that the former is competent to perform the office of a domestic currency, it becomes apparent that this currency may be found essentially defective, when applied to the settlement of a foreign transaction.

Failing to obtain gold or silver, the foreign creditor must take such commodities as he can dispose of abroad; but if his depreciated bank notes will no longer exchange for the same quantity of the precious metals as heretofore, neither will they purchase the equivalent of those metals in goods.

Hence we may trace one cause of the rise in the price of our domestic produce and manufactures, upon the scale of paper, and the consequent discouragement of our export trade, which can flourish only in proportion as we can afford

to supply the foreign consumer on cheaper terms than he can supply himself in other quarters.

I purposely abstain from the examination of the question, whether prices have risen upon the scale of gold and silver, because, if the fact were established, it could lead to no useful result. Corn has been commonly assumed as an object of comparison, and as it has risen in a proportion exceeding that in which the market price of bullion has risen beyond the mint valuation, it might be inferred that the value of the precious metals has * fallen, notwithstanding a much smaller quantity than usual has been imported into Europe from America of late years. But corn itself does not furnish a just standard of comparison; for its price is not only liable to be raised or depressed at particular seasons, by deficient or abundant crops, but it may be affected by a change in the habits of the people, and other

* It would strengthen my position to assume the fact; for it ought to put an end to all argument, founded on the assumption that gold has risen, rather than that paper is depreciated.

circumstances. In this place, then, I shall endeavour only to account for the rise of price which has taken place, in consequence of the depreciation of our paper currency, assuming, as I shall do, that the relations of value between gold and silver, and other commodities, have experienced only those ordinary fluctuations, to which they are at all times subject, and which cannot be prevented by any legislative or other provisions. The depreciation in question corresponding with the difference between the market and the mint prices of bullion, may be computed at present at about one-fifth, or twenty-five per cent. and such a change is sufficiently alarming, without reference to the further disadvantage which all fixed annuitants must suffer from the advance which may have taken place on the price of the great necessaries of life beyond that rate.

The rise of prices in Great Britain, or the depreciation of our currency, (for these terms express the same thing,) is in my opinion, an effect proceeding from the combined operation of several causes; the excessive issue of bank notes; the magnitude of the national debt; and the un-

ceasing application of taxes to consumable articles.

The national debt, besides that it bears itself the character of a currency, from being readily exchangeable for all other property, has created a new order of wealthy consumers, whose competition must necessarily have a powerful effect in raising the price of commodities.

During the last twenty years, an addition of above ten millions Sterling, per annum, has been made to the interest or dividends payable to the public creditors; and other branches of the public expenditure have been augmented in a still greater proportion. To defray the additional charge, we have trebled or quadrupled the taxes; and it is evident that, in proportion as we take from the husbandman and manufacturer, we leave them less, or we compel them to dispose of their produce at a higher rate. If the corn, which heretofore constituted the fund for the payment of the taxes, continued to bear the same price after the taxes were raised, the fund reserved for the subsistence of the husbandman must be trenched upon, and he and his family must starve. But as this evil would be too de-

structive to be of long duration, things take another course, and the consumers submit to pay him more for his produce to enable him to contribute more to the state.

This is the more easily done, because the ten millions of dividends which have fallen into the hands of an opulent class of the community, come into the market to purchase the produce; and, as the proprietors or distributors of this fund possess generally more than is absolutely required for subsistence, they will not struggle to pay less for their consumption, in the same manner that the husbandman is impelled to require more for his produce.

Co-operating with this fund of ten millions, twenty or thirty millions of a paper currency come forward to aid the operation of purchase. Not only the hands of the public creditors are filled with this commodity, but all those who benefit by the national expenditure are furnished with it; and it is also profusely supplied by the bank of England, and by the various banking establishments which are scattered over the country, to all manner of persons who are disposed

to engage in commercial undertakings, great or small, hazardous or safe. Here, then, we have a crowd of individuals who are able and willing to pay the farmer, the manufacturer, the tradesman, and all others, a liberal price* for the produce of their industry, and the competition of this numerous body necessarily tends to raise the price of all consumable articles *.

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* Dr Smith resolves the whole theory of prices into one simple proposition. They rise when the demand exceeds the supply, and they fall when the supply exceeds the demand. But what would this excellent writer have said, had he heard that the price of corn and the price of gold had both risen at one and the same time? He would, assuredly, have suspected that they had been measured on some very defective scale; and that since corn and gold maintained the same relation to each other, the object of comparison must have changed, and not the corn and gold. Suppose the price of corn to have risen from 50 to 60 shillings the quarter, while the price of gold rose from L. 3, 18s. to L. 4, 13s. the same quantity of gold would in this case have purchased about the same quantity of corn, and prices would be said to have remained nearly stationary; but the purchase is not made with gold, and the difference between 4—13 paid in paper, and 3—18 the value in gold, represents the depreciation of the currency in which the payment is made. Although the quarter of corn costs us 60

If the fact can admit of a doubt, let it be supposed that our paper currency is so far augmented, (and what security is there against an indefinite increase,) as to place bank notes in abundance in the hands of every individual of the community. In that case, every person possessing enough of those notes, who would give an article of real value in use for one which could not be used, and which was not required by any individual? It may be alleged that these notes might still be received as the representation of property, to prevent the inconvenience of exchanges by barter; but it would be contrary to all reason and experience to assume, that an article which every where abounded should continue to bear a value. If this were true, pebbles might be rendered as convenient a medium of exchange as the precious metals; but gold and silver themselves, if they were everywhere as common as pebbles, would command no higher estimation. If they could be obtained without labour, no person

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shillings in paper, we really pay only 50 shillings actual value in gold.

would give the produce of labour, (i. e. something of real value,) to obtain them.

The case supposed is an extreme one; but something of the kind occurred in France soon after the Revolution. The assignats and mandats issued by the different revolutionary governments, became at length of little more value than pebbles, and the most zealous advocates for bank currency will scarcely maintain, that the gold left the paper, and not the paper the gold. Our situation, fortunately, is not so desperate; but the case supposed is calculated to shew, that, if a commodity be furnished in excess, its value, compared with other commodities which are not increased in proportion, must inevitably fall; and, although our paper currency can never be forced into circulation, so as to overflow every channel in the manner assumed, we have reason to believe, that it has been issued to an extent which has materially depreciated its value.

If prices be not affected by a superabundance of currency, how does it happen that they are low, or that the necessaries of life are cheap in poor countries? Why should living be cheaper

in Switzerland than in England, while both countries produce sufficient for the subsistence of their population respectively? Is it not that the number of opulent consumers, or of those who hold a large amount of currency, is, in the former country, comparatively small.

Switzerland being a mountainous country, and not abounding in rich produce, it exports little, and it has little means of supplying itself abundantly with the precious metals, or with other capital *. Switzerland, moreover, destitute of such capital, cannot command what is called credit, or that artificial capital which is created by confidence.

In a country thus circumstanced, the government cannot draw a revenue by the usual means; for taxes must be raised from capital, real or artificial, and they cannot be realized to any large amount without the intervention of a currency of some kind. The government might, it is true, take a portion of the produce of the

* The mountainous cantons are more particularly alluded to. Berne, and some other cantons, were supposed to be very rich before the invasion of the French.

soil; but, if this produce be not sufficiently valuable to defray the charges of transportation, and to give a reasonable profit to the land proprietor, or merchant, neither could it be exported with much advantage by the government.

The country affording no facilities for carrying on a lucrative commerce, and the government possessing little means of levying taxes, and consequently of creating a public debt, wealth cannot be accumulated in many hands, and there cannot arise much competition to obtain the few articles of consumption which the country produces. Each individual retains the produce of his own labour, subject to some trifling deduction for rents or taxes; the common necessaries of life are pretty equally distributed among the community at large, by interchanges or barter; and it rarely happens that the relations of value between these articles are broken or disturbed.

But when, from time to time, a little gold makes its appearance in a country so situated, it is sought for with avidity, as the only means of procuring some foreign luxury; each individual is disposed to give a large portion of his simple

necessaries to obtain it. A competition takes place, and the articles of life become cheap; or, as we term it, prices fall.

Let us fancy the mountains of Switzerland to be levelled, and rivers or canals to afford channels for the exportation of its produce; we should, in this case, soon see the national industry exerted to cultivate, or to manufacture articles which would suit a foreign market; and the precious metals, or other capital, would then be received in return. The government would speedily discover objects, to which the discipline of the exchequer might be applied; the revenue collected from the people would be thrown into the hands of particular classes; and accumulation would ultimately take place.

Here we might pause with satisfaction, for no mischief has yet arisen, and the country is more abundantly supplied, not only with articles of domestic produce, but with the various productions of other soils and other climates.

Soon, however, it will be found that wealth engenders ambition, and becomes itself the object of ambition, while the facility of levying taxes produces credit, or the facility of raising

loans. Ambition impels a nation into wars, which may be supported for a time by drawing larger contributions from the people, but which, in the end, create a necessity for borrowing. A growing capital, a large debt, and a large national expenditure, will require some comprehensive instrument to represent them, and a paper currency will be called in to aid the operations of the precious metals.

Here we are arrived at a critical point; for the taxes, by taking from the husbandman and manufacturer a portion of their produce, will already have impelled them to demand a higher rate for the remainder, while a large capital, both real and artificial, being accumulated in the hands of a number of opulent individuals, a competition will arise among them in the purchase of all consumable articles; the price of these articles will be enhanced, and the rise of price will have a tendency to check domestic consumption, as well as foreign exportation. It will also compel the government to levy higher contributions from the people, just at the time when the sources from which the taxes are paid begin to fail; and if, unfortunately, the rise of prices be ultimately

so considerable as to prevent exportation, and to suppress the national industry, the evil will be at its height. The government will no longer be able to collect the same revenue; without this revenue it will no longer be able to support an artificial capital; and, in the subversion of the national debt, of the established currency, and of public credit, we should witness the downfal of the empire.

Whatever view we take of the question, we shall find that the taxes, and the quantity of the circulating medium, by a sort of mutual action, influence prices. Taxation gives the first impulse perhaps, but the extension of the local currency tends greatly to accelerate the movement. High taxes could not be collected without an extensive currency; but, aided by such a currency, the two forces co-operate to destroy the relations of value between commodities, which would subsist, with little variation, without their intervention.

It may be alleged, that, in different parts of Great Britain, the prices of various articles undergo little alteration, and that living is still very cheap in such places, notwithstanding the progress of taxation and the extension of the currency. Let it be

observed, however, that articles of great bulk and little value, as well as all perishable commodities, have a sort of local dependency or gravitation which prevents their circulating in a way to experience all the effects of a rise of prices. The one will not bear the expence of transportation, the other cannot be transported to a distant market. Herrings may remain cheap on the coast of Scotland to the end of time; and hay and milk, and eggs, will not suddenly become dear in some parts of Wales and Ireland. With respect to articles of this description, different parts of the united kingdoms are much in the same situation as Switzerland.

If the rise of prices were always followed by a correspondent and immediate increase in the price of labour, the working classes of the people would suffer no material inconvenience; but the just relation between the necessaries of life * and

* It has been maintained elsewhere, that the wages of labour need not be raised in proportion to the rise in the price of the necessaries of life, because the labourer must economize, as in the case of a famine or dearth; but in what country do labourers enjoy superfluities which could be cur-

wages being once broken, it is not speedily re-established; nor can it in general be restored without a struggle. We see in England, that the attempts of the artisans and manufacturers to obtain an augmentation of wages, terminate not unfrequently in disorder and popular commotions.

Various classes of the community suffer permanently from the rise of prices. Annuitants of every description, the army, the navy, the public functionaries, receiving fixed stipends, the creditors of the state, and many others, sustain a disadvantage equivalent to a dimunition of income.

The decrease in the value of money, calls, moreover, for an increase of taxes, because the same revenue will no longer be adequate to the performance of the same service; it will not build the same number of ships, nor equip the same number of troops. The annuitant, therefore, finds himself called upon to contribute more

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tailed? Where can they bring up a moderate family without the utmost difficulty, and frequent distress? I consider the wages of labour, and the cost of a moderate subsistence as things which ought absolutely to be identified.

largely to supply the wants of the state precisely at the time when his own means are reduced, or (which is essentially the same thing,) when they are no longer capable of procuring for him the same comforts.

Hence may be traced one of the great causes of venality and corruption. Many individuals who have been accustomed to the enjoyment of every luxury, find themselves gradually lowered in the scale of society, and in the end menaced with poverty and distress; and we must not be surprised that, under such circumstances, feeble minds should determine to sacrifice the moral principle to retain a good, or to avert an evil, which is not contemplated with indifference by the most resolute and virtuous. We hear of seats being purchased in the legislature itself, for the purpose of being rendered subservient to some mercenary end. The representative purchases the voice of the people, and familiarizes them to corruption. The minister purchases the representative that he may remain in power; and the nation must be taxed to furnish the means of carrying on this traffic. The public expenditure is lavishly increased, that all those

who have influence in the country, and whose support is essential to the executive government, may be satisfied and propitiated; and thus a regular system of corruption is everywhere organised, and established.

This state of things is attended with other incidental evils. When taxes become oppressive, they are evaded without compunction, and without disgrace, even by men who would revolt at the idea of committing any common fraud; and the mind familiarized thus to an action unworthy and unjustifiable, is likely to forget, in other instances, those nice distinctions between right and wrong, which ought always to be cherished and enforced.

High taxes, again, create a necessity for severe laws to secure their realization; and severe laws, and harsh tax-gatherers, perpetually teazing and tormenting the people, tend to indispose them towards the government, and to diminish the interest which they ought to feel in the honour and welfare of the state, or that sentiment which is called the love of our country. The pressure of taxes is liable, indeed, to occasion not only discontents, but popular insurrections.

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There is one class of the community who may be supposed to derive permanent benefit from the rise of prices. The proprietors of land and of other real property, whose rents of course are capable of being raised in proportion to the increase in the value of their produce.

The advantage to these persons is however more apparent than real. As far as they consume their own produce, they neither gain nor lose. If they purchase articles of consumption from the tenants, they must pay a price for them proportionate to the increase of their rents; and, generally, in supplying themselves with manufactures, and other articles, which in reality are oftentimes their own produce returned to them in another shape, their increased rents will do no more than compensate the higher cost of those commodities. All that can be said in this case is, that these proprietors maintain their place in society, while the condition of the fixed annuitant is gradually becoming worse.

The rents of some estates, especially in Scotland and Ireland, have, it is true, been increased in a degree far exceeding any difference of expence to which the proprietors may have be-

come liable from the rise of prices; but the improvement has been effected by the judicious application of capital, by the exertion of greater agricultural skill, and by the draining, enclosing and bringing into cultivation large tracks of waste land, to supply the wants of an increasing population. These advantages would have been obtained equally by the land proprietor, had prices remained stationary; and while the decrease in the value of money, or rather while a depreciated currency has evidently been found to affect, in a most injurious manner, a large portion of the community, and to cause great derangement in our commercial and financial system, it may be doubted, whether it has been productive of advantage to any one class of the community, the profession of bankers alone excepted.

It is by no means intended to maintain, that banks are not useful establishments in a commercial community. On the contrary, these establishments have been found to answer several excellent purposes. They constitute a fund for supplying the wants of the merchant; they assist him with advances of money on more liberal terms than he would generally obtain from the

individual money-lender; and they thus relieve commerce from the charge of a high rate of interest. They furnish a medium of exchange which is extremely convenient for effecting the transfer of property; and, in Great Britain, the pecuniary transactions of the government, and of the community, are now upon a scale of such magnitude, that it may be doubted whether they could be carried on without the aid of a paper currency *. Banks, it is admitted, are become even necessary establishments with us; but I still contend, that their notes should be made to represent real capital, and that they cannot answer the purposes of a standard of value, without the co-operation and support of the precious metals.

If it be objected, that Great Britain cannot now command the necessary supply of gold and silver, it will be proper to consider, whether the scarcity complained of may not be aggravated by a de-

* The Author has always been so great an advocate for these establishments, that he proposed the institution of a public bank in Bengal, which has been found to answer a most beneficial purpose.

fect in our commercial and financial arrangements. At the moment, when a want of the precious metals was most severely felt in England, ten millions sterling in specie remained inactive in the treasuries of our government in India. It is unquestionable, that a portion of the bullion which found its way to Bengal, would, under different management, have been imported direct into Great Britain, * which

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* See remarks in a preceding chapter. The high price of bullion in England will soon draw our surplus treasure from Bengal, for the discharge of public and private debt; but we should have gained a great advantage had this money passed at once from America to England, instead of making a long circuitous voyage to China and India. The objection urged at home was, that, by affording the Americans a remittance, we should encourage a rival trade, but we should have assisted our own trade in a much greater degree. The American who has dollars to remit to India, realizes only about 95 in 100, after paying the charge of insurance, &c. Give him 96 dollars by a bill on Bengal, and he will readily give you his 100 dollars in Philadelphia, or perhaps in London. Here we should gain four per cent.; but if our 96 dollars, instead of being exchanged with the American for his 100, are to be transported to England, they will produce only about 91 dollars, *after a long delay*, and we thus deliberately prefer to receive 91 dollars, in-

held at the time a considerable demand upon India.

We suffered in this instance from an omission; but there is great reason to apprehend that the very laws which have been framed to prevent traffic in the coin, as well as the exportation of specie, are calculated rather to cause the precious metals to disappear.

Without asserting absolutely that Great Britain possesses, at all times, the means of supplying herself with a sufficient stock of the precious metals, it may be assumed, as an universal truth, that gold and silver will come where they are wanted, if there be a superfluity of other commodities to give in exchange for them; and if our country, rich as it is in produce and manufactures, in an industrious population, and in the possession of machinery, which adds incalculably to the sum of its labour; if, I say, a country possessing capital of every description, and hold-

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stead of 100, rather than accommodate with our bills an industrious people, who carry on a trade highly beneficial to our eastern empire, which we ourselves do not find it practicable or convenient to carry on.

ing under its dominion many valuable colonies and tributary empires, cannot procure generally a little gold and silver for its domestic occasions, it is not easy to imagine in what state of things the supply of those metals is to be obtained by any country.

A temporary scarcity of specie may doubtless be experienced when we are compelled to maintain large armies abroad, or when we are obliged to purchase articles of primary necessity, as corn and marine stores, from other countries; but against such circumstances it is the business of a bank to guard; and, if the drain of the precious metals cannot be effectually prevented, its safest and only alternative is, to circumscribe the issue of its paper. An establishment possessing the credit of the Bank of England, is not likely to be called upon for specie, unless it be actually required for the payment of a foreign debt, because the number of individuals, who, in case of alarm, might be disposed to hoard gold and silver, would not be considerable, while a reasonable assurance existed that the notes of the bank could be realized at any time in specie.

But how does the account of that establishment stand at present?

It is in debt to the public to the extent of its notes in circulation. The government and the commercial community are in debt to the bank for advances, which it makes upon a very large scale;—and the government brings the nation in debtor for what it owes to the bank, which must be satisfied by means of taxes. Under these circumstances, the holder of a bank-note has no assurance that he can realize value at any time. The bank, instead of having a certain proportion of its capital in specie to satisfy eventual demands, can tender only the debt of the government, or the private bill which it may have discounted, in discharge of its own obligations.

In a former part of this chapter, I have supposed the case of a foreign creditor receiving payment of his demand upon this country in paper currency; but who will purchase a foreign bill upon England when it cannot be realized without loss?

No person, evidently, will give a greater value for such a bill than he can realize, and he will,

of course, in purchasing it, exact a consideration sufficient to indemnify him for all the disadvantages and deductions which he may expect to incur in the course of realizing a discredited currency; that is, in converting bank paper into bullion, or into such commodities as may be suited to a foreign market.

Under certain circumstances, therefore, a difference of exchange may occur between two countries, not only to the amount of the charge attending a remittance in bullion from the one to the other, but with the addition of the expence which may be incurred in realizing a depreciated currency.

Great Britain incurs a debt to the rest of the world for the sum of her imports; for the interest of the public debt, in so far as it is payable to foreigners; for the amount of her subsidies to foreign powers; and for the expence of maintaining her armies and civil establishments employed abroad. On the other hand, the rest of the world incurs a debt to Great Britain for the sum of her exports; for the rent, or tribute, payable by her colonies and dependencies; for the profits of her subjects who are employed

abroad in commercial and other pursuits; and for the income of her capital which may be invested in the funds of a foreign state, or which may be engaged in carrying on the trade of other countries. The imports, in many instances, represent rent and tribute, (as the sugar received from the West Indies, the indigo remitted from Bengal, &c. &c.); but the statement of debts and credits would be shewn in a more distinct and satisfactory manner, if both sides of the account were always separately exhibited.

I cannot undertake to furnish the statement, useful as such a document would be; nor can I venture to affirm on what side the balance at present preponderates. It will be different, of course, at different periods, for the amount of our foreign expenditure varies considerably, and every item of the account is liable to fluctuate; but we have the strongest grounds for believing, that, under ordinary circumstances, Great Britain has a large surplus to receive from the rest of the world.

In order to illustrate the manner in which a foreign debt must ultimately be discharged, I will instance a case with which I am better acquainted,

although it will lead me to repeat some remarks and explanations which were offered in a preceding chapter.

India is at present largely in debt to the mother country, for, independently of the public tribute, the profits of all British subjects residing in that country, as well as the income of British capital, vested in our Indian funds, or otherwise, constitute a debt owing to Great Britain. This debt I estimate at about two millions Sterling per annum, and, although it may exceed that sum, it cannot, I am persuaded, fall short of it.

India imports from Europe woollens, metals, marine and military stores, and a variety of consumable articles. It returns cotton-piece goods, cotton-wool, silk, indigo, sugar, spices, salt-petre, drugs, &c. &c. The value of the latter considerably exceeds that of the former, and the exports from India were heretofore so extensive, that they not only paid for her imports, but discharged also the whole debt incurred to the mother country. This is not, however, the case at the present moment, and India is compelled to remit in bullion a sum sufficient to liquidate the excess of her debt beyond her credit.

That country could not long continue to make such payments, if it did not, from time to time, receive supplies of bullion in discharge of the demands which it holds upon China, America, and other quarters; and, even with these resources, India may possibly find its stock of the precious metals gradually diminish, when a forced exportation of commodities must take place.

In the years 1801, 1802, and 1803, the exchange for unexceptionable bills drawn on England from Bengal, at six months sight, was, on a medium, 2s. 8d. the Sicca rupee; and, as the intrinsic, or bullion value of the rupee is only 2s. $0\frac{3}{4}$d. there was a difference against Great Britain, on comparing the mint value of the coins, to the extent of about 30 per cent. The price of silver bullion, however, in the London market, at that time exceeding the mint price about 10 per cent. and the bill being paid in paper, the real difference of exchange was only about 20 per cent. which represented the expence of remitting bullion from England to Bengal, and the difference*

* This may require a little explanation.

The party drawing from Bengal saves interest (and, in

of interest saved by drawing from Bengal instead of remitting bullion from England. At the period in question, Great Britain was in debt to India, and remittances in bullion were accordingly made to the latter country.

During the three last years, 1810, 1811, and

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general, *Indian* interest, which, at the period alluded to, was 10 per cent per annum,) for twelve months, the money being received by him in Bengal twelve months before it is repaid in England. Interest for twelve months is—10 per cent.

The same party, if he remit by sending bullion from England, would *lose* interest for about six months, the money being advanced for the bullion six months before it is realized in Bengal. Interest for six months is -	5
Difference of interest between the two modes of remittance - - -	15
Freight insurance, &c. and charges -	5
	20

A bill drawn in England upon Bengal might have been purchased, at the same time, at about 2s. 4d. the Sicca rupee; but in this case, the remitter to India advances the money, and the difference between the two rates represents the value of the time which he saves by drawing from Bengal. These exchanges approximate as the interest of money falls.

1812, it has been found difficult in India to purchase a good bill on England. The bills granted by the Indian governments in payment of the interest of the public debt have borne a premium in the market; and the exchange for unexceptionable bills has been, on a medium, 2s. 5d. the Sicca rupee. This rate still shews a difference against England of about 18 per cent.; but it will be recollected, that the payment is made in paper currency, which brings at present about 24 per cent worse than specie: there results, therefore, a difference of exchange in her favour of * 6 per cent., which is about equal to the expence of remitting bullion from Bengal to England. The reason is clear: India has now a debt to pay to the mother country, and it must incur this charge when compelled to pay that debt in specie or bullion.

India, fortunately, has a large stock of the precious metals at present; and, in consequence of the high price which bullion bears in England,

* It is rather more in favour of England, because the bill is not paid for six months, and *time* bears a value in all exchange transactions.

the former country can pay her debt on more favourable terms than would otherwise be practicable. A remittance in gold, after defraying charges, will realize about 2s. 5d. the Sicca rupee, and a remittance in silver will produce from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 4d. after paying the expences of freight and insurance, the two metals being valued differently in the two countries *.

India cannot, however, export bullion *ad infinitum*, and when her stock of the precious metals shall be materially reduced, they will become too valuable and too necessary to admit of their being sent out of the country, and a forced exportation of commodities must take place for the discharge of her debt. Indigo, piece-goods, and other articles, have already been sent in such quantities that they have failed to realize a remit-

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* The proportion between the fine metals in the English standard money is as $15\frac{2}{100}$ of silver to 1 of gold.

Ditto between the Calcutta gold mohur and Sicca rupee $14\frac{861}{1000}$ of silver to 1 of gold.

Ditto between the Madras star pagoda and Arcot rupee $13\frac{872}{1000}$ of silver to 1 of gold.

So that, in Bengal, gold is valued higher, in proportion, than at Madras, to the amount of $6\frac{65}{100}$; and in England it is valued higher than in Bengal, to the amount of about $2\frac{34}{100}$ per cent.

tance equal to that which bullion produces; and when the latter alternative, which constitutes a sort of check upon the remittance in goods, shall be no longer available, the produce and manufactures of the country must be exported, whatever price they may yield in the foreign market. India will then, perhaps, have to liquidate her debt at much greater cost; she must give more of the produce of her labour to satisfy them; and, if her government should introduce an unsubstantial paper currency, her embarrassment will not be inferior to that which is experienced at present in Great Britain.

If things be allowed to take their natural course, and no injudicious steps be adopted by the government, the evil will in time work out its own remedy. The indigo of Bengal has already, by its good quality and cheapness, excluded all other indigo from the markets of Europe; the other produce and manufactures of the country, if depressed in price below the natural level, will, for the same reason, obtain a preference; and when the produce and manufactures of other countries, shall no longer come in competition with them, an equilibrium will again be establish-

ed, and India will pay her debts, as heretofore, in her commodities, at a just valuation.

During this temporary difficulty, the exchange with England will be greatly against India; for, if bullion cannot be procured, or if its price be materially enhanced, the exchange will be regulated by the produce of a forced remittance in goods. The difference of exchange will, moreover, be exacted, not merely upon the excess of the debts of India beyond her credits, but upon the whole sum of her debts, because each individual who has occasion to remit to England, must be content to exchange his rupee for what that rupee would realize in England, if remitted in commodities. The demand for remittances, in short, exceeding the supply, the competition of the remitters will reduce the exchange to the scale of this alternative upon the aggregate of the debt payable to Great Britain.

But, generally, it may be affirmed that, where no deficiency of the precious metals is experienced, and no obstacles are opposed to their exportation, the difference of exchange between two given countries, (even if commerce should afford no facilities, for making payments), ought never to ex-

ceed the expence of remitting bullion from the one to the other, and of converting that bullion into coin. The expence in question consists of freight and insurance, loss of interest during the conveyance of the bullion, the charge of converting it into the local currency, the waste of the metal in undergoing the process of coinage, and the seignorage of the government which fabricates the coin, where such duty may be levied.

These charges, under particular circumstances, may be considerable; but they cannot possibly amount to the difference of exchange which the merchant, as well as our government, have been known to pay of late, in effecting remittances to the continent of Europe. The extraordinary charge incurred in this case must be referred chiefly to the depreciation of our local currency, which no longer exchanges for an equal sum in the precious metals. The merchant not possessing the alternative of remitting in gold or silver, is compelled to export goods, at however great a disadvantage, for the purpose of discharging the foreign debt; and the loss or expense attending the remittance, in whatever way it may be effected, constitutes properly the difference of exchange.

To obviate the ill effects experienced from the present scarcity of specie in England, the British legislature rely mainly upon the operation of laws which prohibit the melting down and exportation of the current coin of the realm; but lest these should not be found a complete remedy for the evil, it has been judged expedient to render it highly penal for an individual to traffic in the coin with a view to gain. The bank of England and other banking establishments have at the same time been permitted to circulate, under the denomination of bank tokens, a spurious currency of very questionable character, which has been allowed to usurp the place of the national coins.

To prevent the melting down of the coin when the metal bears a higher value in the market than it represents in circulation, is impracticable; and any attempt to prevent its exportation when the country has a foreign debt to pay, is not less unwise, than it is fruitless.

Specie will not be sent out of any country when goods can be sent with greater advantage; nor will it ever be exported, except for the payment of a debt, or for the purchase of a commodity which is required, or which it is desirable to

possess. To prohibit its * exportation is, therefore, virtually to prohibit the payment of our debts, or to proscribe the use of some article which our people are solicitous to obtain.

Under the circumstance of our present relations with the continent of Europe, it may be good policy to discourage the consumption of French wines and other produce of the territory of our enemy; but this might be done without having recourse to the expedient of prohibiting the exportation of our currency. The prohibition, by rendering its exportation difficult and hazardous, subjects the merchant to an additional charge, and the expence incurred by him operates precisely as an import duty, since it must be defrayed by disposing of the article imported at a higher price.

If the duty were realized by the state, and if it fell only on such articles as French wines and

* While we take such pains to prevent the exportation of specie, we grant a bounty on the exportation of plate. Can any thing be more inconsistent and unaccountable? Do we seriously believe that foreigners will send their bullion to be manufactured by us; or does the conversion of our bullion and specie into plate, call for peculiar encouragement at this moment.

French laces, we should have nothing to regret; but the duty is received by the individual, who, at some risk, clandestinely exports the coin; and it falls indifferently both upon articles which are essential to us (corn and marine stores for example), and upon those with which we could dispense without inconvenience.

It operates, moreover, as a charge upon supplies to our armies abroad, and on our remittances for the payment of foreign subsidies, &c.

If we employ armies on the continent we must provide for their subsistence, and if we cannot send to Spain and Portugal commodities which those countries require, and which they can afford to purchase, we must send money, the only article which is received in all countries in exchange for all other commodities.

To throw difficulties in the way of its exportation, is then to enhance the expence of procuring the supplies required for the public service; and the extraordinary charge thus incurred manifests itself in a most unfavourable exchange. The government will not export or cannot procure specie, and it has recourse to the agency of the private merchant for effecting its remittances. If the

merchant can export goods, or can exchange the demand which he may hold upon some other country (America for instance) for the demand of America upon Portugal, the remittance will be effected with less disadvantage to the government, or with greater profit to the individual; but should no such channel of remittance exist, the precious metals must be sent, *coute qui coute;* and the government, which opposes obstacles to the exportation of them, takes steps to counteract its own interests, and to defeat its own purposes.

Money, I repeat, will never be exported if the object to be accomplished can be effected by any cheaper means; and, by embarrassing its exportation, we force ourselves to resort to some more expensive operation. A country may be compelled under certain circumstances to reduce its stock of the precious metals; but, in general, there is little occasion to guard against their exportation; for a nation will not long continue to consume foreign articles which it cannot afford to purchase, or which it cannot procure by giving in exchange the produce of its own labour. I am disposed to apply this remark even to tributary countries and provinces, for rent or tribute can only be

paid, and can only in fact exist, where there is produce.

The Emperor of the French, in refusing to receive our produce and manufactures, has taken the most effectual means to stifle or circumscribe the produce of his own territory, although he does, no doubt, in a greater or less degree, succeed at the same time in his object of distressing this country.

By rendering the sale of specie a high misdemeanor, we not only confound the idea of proportion between crime and punishment, but we inculcate the notion that there is an essential difference of value between specie and our paper currency; and this belief is likely to excite a disposition in the people to hoard the precious metals. They are not allowed to dispose of their guineas, and they will not willingly part with them for less than their real value. Specie may thus be withheld from circulation at a time when it may bear a peculiar value to the nation, as being necessary to enable it to support its armies abroad.

Fortunately, the law is more terrible in words than in deeds; for the conversion of specie into bullion cannot be prevented, although it might perhaps be checked by means different from

those which have been resorted to by the legislature *.

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* By exacting a moderate seignorage on the coinage, sufficient at least to indemnify the government for the charges of the mint. The current coin would in this case, bear a value beyond that of the bullion which it contains, and if it should, from time to time, leave the country, it would probably return, as it would enjoy a local value, or peculiar privileges within the sphere of its own circulation. In no part of the world perhaps, has the currency been placed on a better footing, than in our Bengal provinces. There is levied at the Calcutta mint a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the coinage of gold, and 2 per cent. on silver, which is deemed sufficient to defray the charge of the establishment. The coin, both gold and silver, is called in, and renewed whenever the deficiency in weight, by wear or otherwise, exceeds $\frac{5}{16}$ per cent., and it is renewed at the public expence, the mint duty or seignorage not being chargeable on the recoinage of our own currency. The precious metals are valued with us in the proportion of $14\frac{861}{1000}$ of silver, to 1 of gold, and this valuation has been found to answer very well in general. About 15 or 16 years ago, the market price of silver coin was better suited to the minute transactions of a people not yet in a state of opulence; but the circumstance of silver bearing a higher price, caused it to be imported very generally in preference to gold, and the wealth of the country having also advanced of late years, it is now found that gold, in some parts of Bengal, bears a higher estimation than silver.

The condition of our silver coin has, it may be apprehended, a tendency to increase prices; and the introduction of that motley currency, denominated bank tokens, is little calculated to mitigate the evil. We may agree among ourselves to receive for a time any base coin as a medium of exchange; but the influence of foreign commerce will sooner or later cause the local currency to be appretiated at its bullion or intrinsic value; and to maintain, that a shilling which has lost half its weight, will continue for a constancy to purchase the same quantity of consumable articles, is to maintain, that one pound of silver is as valuable as double that quantity.

The existence of an unfavourable exchange, as has already been observed, is highly disadvantageous to a country, because the sum of its debts to other nations is augmented by it. If a pound of silver will not exchange in England for a pound on the continent of Europe, the former cannot discharge a debt to the latter, without paying the difference. England will not only have to send the pound of silver, or its equivalent in goods, but it must bear all the expence

incidental to the conveyance of the bullion, to the continent. In estimating exchanges, we of course take the quantity of pure metal contained in the coins which are the objects of comparison.

The foreigner who has dividends to receive from our public funds, is paid, it is true, in our depreciated currency; but it will not be contended that we give him the value which we originally engaged to pay, and we cannot flatter ourselves that the nation derives any benefit from breach of contract. The conduct of the French government in lowering the standard of their coin has often been reprobated; but do we not act essentially in the same manner, when we force our creditors to receive from us a currency which no longer bears the value assigned it, in our payments to them?

The foregoing remarks are intended to bring under our review some of the consequences resulting from a discredited currency. The actual depreciation of our bank paper has been established in so conclusive a manner by others, that it would be as unreasonable to question it, as it would be to deny the fact that the market-price

of bullion exceeds, at the present moment, the standard or mint price.

One practical inference, at least, may be deduced from the examination of this question, namely, that the bank of England must be required to renew its payments in specie; and that every day's delay which may take place in bringing back that establishment to the principles and practice of its original institution, is likely to aggravate the evils which the depreciation of our local currency has brought upon the country.

The bank could not undertake at once to cash the whole of its outstanding notes, while the market price of gold and silver so far exceeds the mint price, or while an extraordinary demand exists for the precious metals, to discharge a foreign debt. It would, under these circumstances, find its stock of gold and silver suddenly disappear; but it might, by a course of measures, gradually prepare for a return to its old practice. It might engage to cash notes of a particular description, (for instance, those for one pound); and as it would be always in the discretion of the directors to regulate the issue of the smaller notes, there need not at any time be such an amount in circulation, as would be liable to involve the

bank* in difficulties. In every payment a certain proportion of those notes might be issued; they would speedily be cashed at first; but the more urgent demand of the public for gold and silver, would, in this manner, be gradually supplied. The issue of one pound notes, which more than any other tend to exclude the issue of coin, would be circumscribed; and individuals who, at present, withhold guineas from circulation, would be compelled to bring them forward in consequence of experiencing a difficulty in procuring those notes. The public would by degrees lose the distinction which is at present made between gold and paper. Coin and bank notes would once more be identified in public estimation; and the bank might again undertake to cash its notes generally without the danger of being exposed to any particular pressure.

I do not assert that the progress to this point would be rapid; but I do maintain, that the attempt should be made, and that it might be made

* The country banks would of course be required to give one pound bank of England notes, for their own notes of the same class; and this would insure the circulation of a large amount of the former, and would check the immoderate issue of the latter, in a manner highly salutary and desirable.

with the fairest prospect * of success; and at all events, it appears to me perfectly clear, that the bank cannot be permitted to go on as it has done since the act of 1797, without becoming an instrument of msichief, instead of proving, what it has been heretofore, a most useful engine for supporting public credit, and for promoting the agriculture and commerce of the country.

If the bank of England cannot undertake to re-establish its currency upon its only legitimate foundation, I see no alternative but to compel this corporation to close its accounts with the public, at the expiration of a given period, sufficient time being of course allowed for the proper settlement of its concerns. The legislature might then sanction a new establishment upon the footing on which the bank of England originally stood; and it would soon be seen that there is capital enough in the country, and enough, too, of the capital more particularly required (the precious metals) to support a paper curren-

* The Author had occasion to make an experiment of the same kind, although upon a smaller scale, and it succeeded completely.

cy upon a moderate scale, with safety and advantage to the bank which might be permitted to issue it, and with convenience and benefit to the public.

CHAPTER V.

Consequences to be apprehended from a further Augmentation of the National Debt, and from the extension of our Paper currency.

I HAVE endeavoured to explain in what manner the magnitude of the national debt, and the extent of our paper currency, have already affected prices, exchanges, and income; but is there not reason to apprehend that, by extending the operation of the same causes, effects still more disastrous may be produced? Is a national bankruptcy an occurrence so remote from probability, that it would be extravagant to contemplate it, and its consequences? What are the circumstances under which a national bankruptcy is most likely to be produced?

1*st*, It may take place in consequence of a cessation of commerce, affecting materially the national income.

2*dly*, In consequence of a scarcity of corn, which would have the same effect, at the same time that it inflamed the minds of the lower orders of the people.

3*dly*, In consequence of the loss of our colonies, and especially our valuable possessions in the east, by which the national income would also be greatly reduced.

4*thly*, In consequence of the invasion of a foreign enemy, or the long duration of an expensive war, unsuccessfully conducted.

5*thly*, In consequence of domestic convulsions, whether originating in the pressure of taxes, in bad laws, in the imbecility or profligacy of the executive government, in the moral depravity or fanaticism of the people, or in the conduct of an oppressive aristocracy, or a licentious soldiery.

From the operation of some of these causes, we are as secure as a nation can well expect to be; but let us not blindly conclude, that we are placed beyond the influence of events, which have been known to destroy the financial prosperity,

as well as the domestic peace, of other countries. The crisis, I hope, is yet far removed; but no individual who has the power of reflection, can fail to perceive that the accumulation of debt must, in the course of time, reach that point, beyond which it can proceed no farther; that we are rapidly advancing towards the fatal bourne, and that we can insure our safety only by restoring to our financial machinery, all that efficiency and force which may be expected to result from order, simplicity, and solidity in all its parts.

A national bankruptcy in Great Britain cannot be contemplated by any reflecting mind without a feeling of horror. This nation would sustain a greater shock under such a calamity, than any community ever perhaps experienced. The fall of our financial system would bear down with it the whole fabric of society, so completely is the present artificial state of property blended with the very existence of social order. The distress and embarrassment occasioned by the failure of the South-Sea scheme, and of Mr Law's bank in France, in the beginning of the last century, were utterly insignificant when compared

with the misery and ruin which must ensue from the subversion of our financial system. The disorder in the finances, the luxury and dissipation of the higher orders, and the great inequality of conditions, were among the leading causes of the French revolution, although other circumstances, no doubt, concurred to precipitate that dreadful catastrophe.

Our finance is the very heart of our social system, and the derangement of this organ would be followed by the paralysis of the whole body. The channels for distributing the wealth of the society to its different members being cut off or obstructed, the body would soon be convulsed, and hurried to dissolution.

If the government were unable to continue its payments to the public creditors, a demand for consumable articles to the extent of the whole interest of the public debt, (or above 20 millions Sterling,) would suddenly cease. A large part of the community, having no longer the means of purchasing articles of luxury, or even the common necessaries of life, all those who are at present subsisted by their expenditure, the artisan, the manufacturer, the tradesman, labourer,

servant, &c. &c. would immediately be thrown out of employ. Manufactures not being called for, and the industry of the people having no object on which to employ itself, the manufacturers, labourers, and others, would find themselves debarred from those means by which they have been accustomed to procure a title to participate in the common stock *. Various classes would,

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* It may be objected, that the interest of the debt being no longer paid, the taxes which supply it would no longer be collected, and that the only difference of circumstances would be, that the fund would be distributed by another class of persons, whose expenditure would equally encourage the national industry. This would really happen in the course of time; but, in the first instance, a large body of consumers would suddenly be withdrawn, and there would be a great diminution in the demand for various articles, and especially articles of luxury. For example, the stockholder who receives an annual dividend of 3 or L. 4,000, probably keeps a carriage or two, has a house superbly furnished, and indulges in dress, &c. &c. This sum, if left in the hands of the 20 or 30 people who at present supply the dividend by means of taxes, would not probably enable any one of them to keep an additional carriage, or to add to the furniture of his house. Many trades must therefore suffer from the decrease in the consumption of particular articles.

in short, find themselves suddenly deprived of the means of obtaining a livelihood, and the connection at present subsisting between the different members of the community, would be effectually dissolved.

But two or three millions of men will not patiently starve; and if they cannot acquire a subsistence by their own industry, they will resort to force. A general struggle for subsistence ensuing, the strong and the daring would overpower the weak and the timid. In this state of things, confusion must universally prevail, rapine, murder, and all the crimes which the worst passions engender, would every where be committed.

The public creditors generally would be deprived of the means of subsistence, while particular classes of this numerous body, the aged and infirm, females, and others, would be left destitute, without the prospect of having it in their power to acquire, by their labour, a claim to participate in the common produce, when society should again begin to recognize itself.

The many charitable institutions which are supported from the income of the public funds, must

be discontinued; and it being no longer practicable to levy, as heretofore, contributions for the benefit of the indigent, the whole body of the* poor would be thrown destitute upon the community.

When society is unhinged, and confusion once prevails, the return to order is an affair of much uncertainty; accident may do something, but we have little reason to rely on the wisdom, virtue, or courage of man. The history of every country shews, how easily the great mass of the community is subdued, and how passively it submits to every degree of violence and oppression. We read of nations trembling at the name of a tyrant. History tells us, that the monster Tiberius, confined by his own fears to a solitary island, held in terror a whole people,—a people, too, long distinguished for its bravery and its love of independence. The noblest of the Roman citizens put an end to their existence rather than encounter the frowns of a despot. The

* The number of individuals at present supported or assisted by the poor rates in England, is stated at nearly one million and a half.

most respectable of the French nation, in the same manner, submitted their necks, and passively awaited their fate from a band of wretches, who, in their turn, were swept away by wretches still more atrocious.

In the wreck of social order, do we flatter ourselves that no such execrable monsters would spring up among us? Do we seriously believe that the generosity of the English character is such as to be superior to passion, to the impulse of fear, or to the baneful workings of avarice and ambition? Can we seriously believe that the rabble which would issue from the dark haunts of our metropolis, in the event of any popular commotion, would be actuated by more rational views, would be more temperate or more generous, than the desperate crew which sallied from the purlieus of the Palais Royal to drench the French metropolis in blood? The days of Jack Cade are too remote to furnish a striking example; but the mobs of 1780 might teach us that our countrymen are not exempt from the turbulent and mischievous passions. Can any man believe that we may safely depend upon the moderation, justice, generosity, or good sense of

a mob, in any country? As well might we expect that an enormous rock, rent from its seat by some convulsion of nature, should precipitate itself down the sides of the mountain with inoffensive violence; that it should trace its headlong course with considerate regard to intervening objects; that it should avoid the bending crops, pass lightly over the budding flowers, and spare whatever was useful or agreeable to man. With as little reason can we expect that an ungoverned multitude, in its mad career, should respect the sage, the patriot, the matron, the infant, the minister of religion, or the temple of the Deity!

Man, in the absence of all those restraints which are imposed by civilized society, would return to the savage state; and in that state, he is ferocious and cruel. Mark the conduct of the savages of North America, and of most of the islands in the Pacific Ocean. A few beads could tempt the barbarians of Maouna to murder the unfortunate De Langle and his companions; and the ill-fated Peyrouse perhaps fell like his illustrious predecessor Cook. The mild temper of some of the islanders (the inhabitants of the Friendly and

Society Isles,) seems to constitute an exception from the general character of savages, and it is difficult to * account for this diversity of disposition; for, in savage life, the passions being uncontrouled, the wants of the individual, even before ambition has place, give rise to competition for subsistence. Competition soon produces contention, contention danger, danger fear, and fear cruelty. The first movement of those feelings is checked by our civil institutions, which have for their object to secure the property, and to guard the personal liberty of the different members of the community.

Vancouver gravely talks of establishing peace upon a firm and durable foundation among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands; but he seems to have been little acquainted with the human passions, and he made a singular mistake when he fancied that he could alter the character and habits of savages. Peyrouse had more just views of savage life, although he acted always

* It is only, perhaps, to be accounted for from the circumstance of subsistence being abundant, and easily obtained.

towards the islanders whom he visited with the utmost mildness and humanity.

Uncultivated man is not only mischievous from his passions, but he is to be dreaded, on account of his ignorance. Even among those who have enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education, it is difficult to find any considerable number who are capable of judging correctly of the character and conduct of an individual, or of appretiating the motives of his action on any particular occasion. What, then, is to be expected from the most illiterate, as well as the most depraved part of the community? from men misled by prejudice, and knowing no other guide than their passions? Where are we likely to find virtue and energy to resist either the violence of the multitude, or the tyranny of an individual? Who resisted the mob of Paris? What opposition was made to the sanguinary Marius; to the desolating ravages of Sylla; to the abominable triumvirate, when it coolly bartered away the best blood of Rome; or to the detestable monsters, who, after the reign of Augustus, successively trampled upon the people of Rome? Do we not find one of the most eminent philosophers

and moralists of his age an accomplice in an unnatural parricide? Is it possible, in reading the history of the first emperors after Augustus, to believe that we are reading the history of a civilized people? What assurance have we that the inhabitants of these islands would not degenerate under a change of circumstances? Have they been always patriots and heroes?

What are many of our nobility at the present day? There are among them some very accomplished and useful statesmen, and some of them are highly respectable and amiable in their private lives; but a large number are more distinguished for their knowledge of horses. Would the latter class stand forward to oppose the excesses of the multitude, and to *reorganize* society, if we should unhappily be thrown into a state of confusion? Are they aware of the lamentable condition to which they would be reduced in the event of a revolution? The demand for statesmen is limited; and our nobles, in the event of any violent convulsion, must many of them starve, or be content to follow some humble occupation on the shores of America.

We are disposed to view the conduct of the

French, in the course of their late revolution, as exhibiting something extravagant and unnatural, something which can never again occur; but those who are disposed to regard it in this light, would do well to consult the History of the Insurrection of the French Peasantry, in the 14th century. The history of the late memorable event would probably be the history of every revolution, where a society, arrived at a high degree of civilization, is suddenly precipitated back to its original condition. The velocity of the descending body being in proportion to its elevation, the crash of its fall will be tremendous.

Lulled to forgetfulness in the bosom of luxury, and enjoying every gratification which bountiful nature can bestow, we do not trouble ourselves to look forward to the future; and we little heed the mischief which must ensue, should any accident occur to the fragile machine which supports us. But have we any better assurance than the French of enjoying for ever our present splendid possessions?

The nations who have made the greatest advances in civilization have performed a circuit. The Greeks and Romans degenerated, and, hav-

ing lost the energy of their character, they became an easy prey to barbarians; the people of India and China, after having made considerable progress in the arts of civilized life, were subdued and enslaved by the same race of Scythians or Tartars. Among the nations of Europe the same causes are not likely to operate again, because modern skill, and the use of superior weapons, sufficiently protect us against the physical force of barbarians; but the same effects may be produced by other causes, and internal convulsions may become as fatal to a nation as the eruption of the Northern hordes. The French have exemplified this, and, after having committed a sort of political suicide, they have begun their circle anew. Our civil institutions have been better framed, and the progress of corruption with us has not been so rapid. Our orbit is greater, but we are pursuing the round. The French, after their late convulsion, did not, like the Greeks and Romans, remain long in a state of barbarism. This volatile nation revolves in small orbits with astonishing velocity, and it may perhaps reach another crisis at no distant period.

The state of society is, however, more artificial

with us than with any other people; at least, our political and financial machine is more complex and delicate; and, if it should ever unhappily be deranged, the consequences would be more extensively ruinous. An enormous public debt, and a paper currency carried to excess, tend chiefly to render our situation precarious, and would cause any shock to our social institutions to be severely and universally felt; but the very advantages which we enjoy over other nations would have the effect of aggravating the evil. In consequence of the use of machinery, the subdivision of labour, and the introduction of various improvements in rural and commercial economy, a small portion of the population is enabled to provide subsistence for the whole community; and a vast number of individuals remain altogether unemployed, who would be little qualified to make themselves useful if a change of circumstances should render their labour necessary to the society, or to themselves.

The improvements alluded to are not to be regarded as disadvantageous; they are a substantial good as long as the mechanism of society continues unimpaired. The national debt, and

our paper currency, are prejudicial and dangerous only by being carried to excess. While the country produces, or can procure, by means of its labour, every thing which is necessary, useful, and delightful to man, and while the constitution of society is such as to provide for a fair distribution of the general stock, we need not inquire, with an over-solicitude, whether the supply be obtained by the industry of a few, or by the united efforts of the whole population, by the joint labour of man and animals, or by a mechanical operation *. What I would urge, is, that there must be limits to our present artificial arrangement for distributing the national produce by means of a public debt; that this system has already been carried much too far; and that its subversion would be followed by the total overthrow of every thing which is dear and valuable to a moral and enlightened community. We must, in fine, restore to the edifice a little of its pristine simplicity, or we must at least deter-

* It is desirable, however, that as large a portion as possible of the population should be employed. See a former chapter on this subject.

mine to build no further upon a perilous foundation, which cannot be shaken without overthrowing one of the noblest structures ever produced by the ingenuity of man.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Means of preventing the further Augmentation of the Public Burdens.

I AM sensible, that, to point out a remedy for existing evils, would be more to the purpose than to trace their origin, or to anticipate their final consequences. I cannot pretend to perform this acceptable service; but I am willing to undertake the labour of a humble pioneer, and to endeavour, as far as possible, to clear the ground on which the skill of others may hereafter be more successfully employed.

The necessity which exists for diminishing the weight of our present burthens is sufficiently evident; and however difficult it may be to point out the means of relief, we could not well pro-

pose to ourselves an inquiry which interests us more nearly.

The alternatives which present themselves all deserve to be examined, although they have all their peculiar difficulties and objections, to which perhaps we can only oppose the simple fact, that it is better to part with a limb, than to allow the body to be convulsed with the paroxysms of disease, or to linger in a state of weakness and decay.

1*st*, The charge of the public debt may be reduced by raising larger contributions from the people, and applying them to the extinction of the debt, by means of a sinking fund, or otherwise.

2*dly*, A course of operations might be undertaken for the purpose of reducing generally the rate of interest, or the price paid for the use of money in Great Britain.

3*dly*, An arbitrary conversion of the debt into annuities, or a forced reduction of the present dividends, would at once relieve us from our embarrassments.

The last proposition may startle those who are

accustomed to consider, (and justly too,) that no end can be legitimate which cannot be attained by legitimate means; but a little reflection will shew, that a peremptory reduction of the dividends on the public funds, would in reality be nothing more than a different mode of taxation.

The conversion of the debt into annuities would be a different, and a still more violent operation; but if the legislature should ever be bold enough to attempt such a measure, and the nation should ever be virtuous enough to submit to it, the financial prosperity of the country would be established on a firmer foundation than we can hope to place it by any other means. Nor would the change be felt by the public creditor, as a measure of that severity which we are disposed to fancy it, on a cursory view of its immediate consequences.

The present stock-holders have acquired their 3 per cents at different prices, varying from 47 to 97 per 100; and the stock is still liable to fluctuations of value between these and perhaps greater extremes.

If the same stock be at one time worth 50, in the estimation of the public, and by a change of circumstances, it becomes at another time worth L. 100, why should not an annuity, which is at present worth 10 years purchase, become susceptible of the same augmentation of value? Grant that the demand for such annuities exceed the supply, or, in other words, that the government has not occasion to borrow to the full extent of the capital which periodically accumulates, the value of annuities might be expected to increase in a still greater proportion.

Under particular circumstances, an annuity for a term of years, might become as valuable as our present perpetuities; and if the foreign creditor could realize his original capital, that is, if he could sell an annuity of L. 4 for L. 100, in what respect would he sustain an injury?

That, on the conversion of our present stock into annuities, the latter would bear a high value, I entertain not the smallest doubt. The credit of the government would unquestionably rise as its incumbrances diminished, and the danger of bankruptcy should be guarded against.

The value of the public securities would rise in proportion as the quantity in the market should be reduced, and become insufficient to supply the demand created by a growing capital; and if, unfortunately, the government should still find it necessary to raise additional supplies for the public service, by granting fresh annuities, the money would be obtained on terms comparatively advantageous. We have seen our 3 per cent. stock as high as 97; and we have known the same stock to fall below 50, that is, the interest of money, by a change of circumstances, has been lowered from 6 to 3 per cent; but an annuity for 20 years at 6 per cent., is worth much more than a perpetuity at 3 per cent.; and the revolution would not be more extraordinary, if an annuity for 20 years at 3 per cent. should come to bear as high an estimation as our perpetuities do at present.

But as no attempt is ever likely to be made to introduce so great a change in the condition of the public debt, what is to be done? Are we to rely entirely on the operation of the sinking fund to relieve us from our incumbrances? Is it suffi-

cient to provide an annual fund of 1 or 2 per cent. to redeem a capital of 100, increased year after year? We are following the steps of a giant with the pace of an ant. The sinking fund would make great progress, no doubt, in the extinction of debt, if our revenue equalled our expenditure; but while the debt is annually advancing with rapid strides, of what avail is it that we creep after it with an extinguishing force in the ratio of 1 or 2 to 100?

The sinking fund answers one excellent purpose. It creates a regular demand for the public securities, which tends greatly to maintain their credit, and to keep down the interest of money. Without this demand, the public creditors might, on occasions of temporary alarm, be exposed to great disadvantage in realizing their property from the want of a market. They would be at the mercy of a small number of monied men, who would have it in their power, in a great degree, to affix their own valuation on the public stock. The sinking fund takes off that portion of stock which is forced from time to time into the market, by the necessities of

the proprietors; and in preventing its sale, under circumstances of great disadvantage, it upholds the value of stock generally. But with these circumstances in its favour, the sinking fund will not relieve us from our burthens, while we continue to borrow annually a larger sum than this fund applies to the redemption of debt, within the same period. Some are sanguine enough to look forward to the return of peace, when it is expected that the sinking fund will make a miraculous progress in extinguishing our debt; but while we have opposed to us the formidable power which at present rules the continent of Europe, and while we retain our extensive colonial possessions, peace would not enable us to reduce materially our naval and military establishments, or to effect all those economical reforms in the public expenditure, which would be practicable under other circumstances. We must not, therefore, depend entirely upon the operation of this fund, useful as it undoubtedly is, as an auxiliary to effect financial improvement.

It may appear fruitless to deliberate on the expediency of calling for additional contribu-

tions from the people at a time when the public taxes are acknowledged to have been carried to such an extent that they already check consumption, give rise to numberless evasions, and press severely on a large portion of the population. But although the present taxes are notoriously burthensome to a part of the community, it does not follow that they might not be extended in other directions, without material inconvenience to the immediate objects of them.

If, for example, the individual who at present enjoys an income of L. 10,000 a-year, were reduced to * L. 8000 or L. 8500; and if all others

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* Thus—

On incomes not exceeding L. 500 at 10 per cent			50
Do.	1000 at 11 do. on the excess beyond 500		105
Do.	2000 at 12 do.	1000	225
Do.	3000 at 13 do.	2000	355
Do.	4000 at 14 do.	3000	495
Do.	5000 at 15 do.	4000	645
Do.	6000 at 16 do.	5000	805
Do.	7000 at 17 do.	6000	975
Do.	8000 at 18 do.	7000	1155
Do.	9000 at 19 do.	8000	1345

possessing what may be esteemed affluence, were reduced in an increasing or descending ratio, according as their incomes should exceed or fall short of that standard, what grievous calamity would the parties be exposed to?

He who might be so fortunate as to become the object of the higher rates of taxation, must

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On incomes not exceeding L.	10,000 at 20 per c.	9000	1545
Do.	11,000 at 21 do.	10,000	1755
Do.	12,000 at 22 do.	11,000	1975
Do.	13,000 at 23 do.	12,000	2205
Do.	14,000 at 24 do.	13,000	2445
Do.	15,000 at 25 do.	14,000	2695
Do.	16,000 at 26 do.	15,000	2955
Do.	17,000 at 27 do.	16,000	3225
Do.	18,000 at 28 do.	17,000	3505
Do.	19,000 at 29 do.	18,000	3795
Do.	20,000 at 30 do.	19,000	4095

The tax would be much more productive of course, if the increasing per centage were levied on the whole income; but it would then be very high, and this mode of assessing it would be attended with an inconvenience, for the individual who might be assessed for L. 20,000 would be left with a smaller income, than the individual who should pay the tax on L. 19,900—

20,000 at 30 per cent. 6,000 leaves 14,000
19,900 at 29 per cent. 5,771 leaves 14,129.

dispense perhaps with one of several establishments; he must reduce the number of his carriages, horses, and servants; he must curtail a few articles of jewellery, and costly furniture; he must reduce the number of his entertainments, or indulge less in the destructive amusements of the gaming-table. But will it be contended, that there is any serious evil in being compelled to forego these superfluities? Is it at all essential to happiness, that we should possess more palaces than we can inhabit, or that we should command more animals and domestics than we can contrive to employ? Enormous fortunes are, on the contrary, productive in general of trouble, vexation, and care.

As we descend to the middling classes, the diminution of income might be more severely felt. The individual might be compelled to discharge little establishments which are conducive to comfort; but the extent of his privations would not be so great, as we are at first apt to imagine; for, if limits be placed to the growth of the national debt, and our currency be re-established on a proper footing, prices would fall, and a compensation for the diminution of income would be

found in the greater cheapness of all consumable articles. The wages of servants, the cost of carriages and horses, and furniture, the expence of clothing and subsistence, the charge of education, &c. &c. would all be less.

The circumstance of the higher orders being compelled to curtail their establishments, and to dispense with some of their superfluities, would have the effect of reducing the price of various articles, (carriages, furniture, &c. &c.) which would consequently be placed more within the reach of the less opulent. The demand for those articles would be decreased at the same time that the price of the materials, and the cost of manufacture, would be diminished; and cheapness would result from the combined operation of these causes.

It may be urged that, whatever tends to diminish the demand for manufactures, must tend to reduce the produce of the taxes; and that, if we tax the opulent classes in a degree to circumscribe the use of luxuries, we shall only take from them on the one hand, what we must lose on the other, in consequence of

their contributing less in the shape of taxes on consumption.

It is true that the demand for carriages, ornamental furniture, plate, jewels, and some other articles of the same description, would be diminished; but it does not follow, that the capital and labour which are now employed in those manufactures, would not find other objects; and as far as the reduction of prices may be supposed to promote consumption in other quarters, a counteracting cause is found to lessen the effect of any deficiency in the produce of particular taxes.

Moreover, the flourishing state of foreign commerce, depends mainly upon cheapness; and if, by reducing the price of labour, and the profits of stock, we can supply our neighbours with manufactures at low prices, exportation is effectually promoted. One of the many bad consequences to be apprehended from the rise of prices, is the decay of foreign trade; for our manufactures will not be taken from us by other countries, unless we can afford to supply them at a cheaper rate, (the quality being equal), than those countries can manufacture for themselves,

or can purchase from other quarters. Even if we should be in actual want of some essential article, (corn for instance), we cannot long continue to purchase it from our neighbours, unless we can give them in exchange, commodities which they are willing to receive, and which they cannot procure on cheaper terms elsewhere.

To compensate, too, for any possible deficiency in the produce of particular taxes, a saving in the national expenditure may be expected; for, in proportion as the price of labour, and of all consumable articles may be reduced, the expence of the army and navy, and of the public establishments generally, would be diminished. If, on the contrary, prices continue to rise, our present annual disbursement, great as it is, must progressively increase.

A reduction in the dividends on stock, or a partial augmentation of the rates of assessment on income, would not be attended with those fatal consequences which are to be apprehended from a derangement of the finances; for, although some of the unproductive classes (servants, and others,) would be thrown out of employ, the

change would not be so sudden and violent as to create disorder; and our population is not so great as to debar any part of it from the means of obtaining a subsistence. There is an ample field for industry throughout the country, and our army and navy call for greater numbers than it has been found practicable to supply.

Taxes on income, I am aware, are extremely unpopular; but the excise was still more odious to the people of this country a century ago, and we should find, perhaps, on a careful examination, that, in the present case, we are under the influence of prejudice. Direct taxes are liable, certainly, to some objections; they are too obvious to the contributors, and attract attention for their sensible magnitude; they call for disclosures; and, in a commercial country, the necessity for making such disclosures, may occasion inconvenience. If carried to excess, they must check consumption, and derange the organization of society, by throwing some of its members out of their stations.

On the other hand, do we not suffer severely from the indefinite multiplication of taxes and tax-gatherers? Should we not suffer less inconvenience

if the public imposts were consolidated and collected at once, instead of being made the source of perpetual trouble and vexation? Taxes on consumption are paid insensibly, it is true; and we are called upon to contribute only in proportion as we choose to indulge ourselves; but, what does this avail us if the article be rendered so dear by taxation as to be placed beyond our reach? And, do we not sustain a national loss when it is rendered so dear as to be placed beyond the reach of our foreign customers? Is it not matter of indifference to the contributor whether his income be made less, or his expenditure be made greater, by the course of taxation? Does he gain at all by receiving an income which he must immediately pay away again in contributions to the state? Would not any sensible man avoid, if possible, the trouble of this double operation? Is it not an expensive one to the state, and, of course, to the contributor, who must ultimately defray all the charges of collecting the public revenue? And to what does this lead us? Must we not admit that the taxation of income is a more simple, economical, and convenient means of drawing a revenue, than the

immoderate taxation of consumption? Does not income, too, furnish the most just and equal standard for levying contributions from the subject? The miser, who hoards his treasures and starves himself, cannot otherwise be made to contribute at all towards the defence of the state.

If it should ever be judged advisable to reduce the dividends on the public funds, justice would require that the income from land and other real property, as well as income generally, should be assessed in proportion. The holder of stock has sustained already a considerable disadvantage from the rise of prices, while the land proprietor, if he has not actually derived benefit from this rise, has at least obtained a compensation for his increased expenditure in the increased value of his produce.

In cases where the land-tax may have been redeemed, the additional assessment should be regulated with reference to the right of exemption purchased by the landholder, who would be entitled to an allowance, or deduction, equivalent to the tax redeemed.

Let us suppose once more, that, instead of re-

ducing the divdends on the public funds, we could at once convert the national debt into annuities. In this case, how would the interests of the community, and of the individual stock-holder be affected? Should we in reality degrade him or his family from affluence to a state of poverty and dependence? Some arguments have already been adduced for the purpose of shewing, that an annuity might, under particular circumstances, be made to realize as great a value as our present perpetuities; but it may be useful to trace the effects of such a change in other respects.

If this country stood engaged only to pay life annuities, its incumbrances would gradually be diminished; and it would have it in its power, either to lessen the burthens at present imposed on the people, or, if war must endure for ever, it would have the means of carrying it on without imposing new taxes, or contracting new debt to so great an amount, as would otherwise be necessary.

Say, for example, that the dividends on the existing debt, amounting to about 20 millions per annum, were converted into life annuities, and that the lives are worth on an average, 20 years

purchase. One in twenty would lapse in the first year, and one twentieth part of the annual payment on account of debt, or one million Sterling, being set free, taxes might be reduced in an equal amount; or the nation would have that sum as a disposable fund, applicable to public purposes.

In the event of the taxes being reduced, one million would remain in the hands of the great body of consumers, and it would be applied in the purchase, and consequently in the production of articles of general consumption.

On the other hand, this sum of one million would be taken from another class of consumers, (the wealthy annuitant), and the demand for some of his articles of consumption (carriages, furniture, and other luxuries,) would possibly be diminished in consequence.

It may be alleged, that there is already produced a sufficient quantity of corn, clothing, and other articles of general consumption, to supply the population of the country; and that, if luxuries were proscribed, the labour which produces them could not be applied to any other useful objects. In this case, one great body of

consumers who are productive labourers, (the manufacturers) must soon disappear.

This objection has already been noticed, and it has been explained that no material decrease in our domestic consumption is to be apprehended, and that an increase in our export trade may be expected to take place, under the circumstances supposed. A portion of the million might possibly be abstracted from the production of costly manufactures; but on the other hand, it would be applied to the production of the more useful articles, which would be more generally diffused among all classes of the community.

It is not true that grain and other articles of primary necessity, are produced in that abundance, which is desirable, and which would admit of the whole population enjoying all the comforts of life. We know that a part of the community exists at present in a state of penury, and that even the middle ranks of society are obliged to economize, and may be said to stint themselves. It is to be wished that every member of the community were well fed, clothed, and housed; and if a proper application of the national industry were made, and a just distribu-

tion of its produce afterwards took place, every individual in this country, who did not forfeit his claim by idleness or dishonesty, might enjoy every comfort of life. The labour of this country is quite equal to the support of its population in a state of the utmost ease and comfort.

The reduction of the dividends on the funds, or the conversion of the debt into annuities, would tend obviously to restore a greater equality of condition, and to place the interests of the community upon a safer footing. Why should wealth be perpetuated in families? The structure of society does not require it; and, even if it be necessary or useful that there should be gradations of rank, and if virtue and talents alone be not sufficient to bestow distinction, and to immortalize a name, the land will always furnish an ample source of hereditary wealth.

It will not be affirmed that industry would want a motive if the individual were precluded from securing to his descendants the wealth which might be within his reach. The selfish principle affords a sufficient incitement to exertion; and we receive from nature an instinct,

or passions, which stimulate us to pursue the means of self aggrandizement.

It is very far from being desirable that the amiable feelings which unite the parent to his family, should be extinguished or checked by any of our social arrangements; but if this nation had originally contracted only to pay annuities, no such effect would have been produced. The parent would still have had it in his power to invest a portion of his acquisitions in the purchase of annuities on the lives of his children, or of his immediate descendants, and connections. Instead of leaving an immense property to a single individual, in the idle hope of handing down a name to posterity, he would probably have divided his fortune among the different members of his family, for, in proportion as it might be difficult or impracticable to entail an overgrown estate, beyond one or two generations, the feeling of pride or vanity, which so frequently induces us to sacrifice the younger branches of a family, would have a less powerful influence. Thus, the law in favour of primogeniture, or the practice which that law encourages, would have been circum-

scribed in its operation, and a greater equality of condition would have been produced.

So far from annuities having the effect of weakening the connection which ought to subsist in families, they might be expected to draw closer the ties of natural affection, by superadding that of one common interest. If the income depended on the life of the parent, we should no longer see the heir looking forward with unnatural impatience to that event, which is to place at his disposal riches acquired by the industry of others. If, on the other hand, the family property were invested in just proportions, on the lives of its several members, they would be united together by one common interest, and we should no longer see the death of a brother regarded with indifference, because it diminished the number of those who might become entitled to participate in the inheritance.

It will not be alleged that, if the government of this country had adopted the plan of raising money upon annuities, the consideration to be granted must have been greater; and that this system of borrowing would probably have been

found quite as expensive as that which has produced our present funded debt.

It is quite clear, that if a perpetuity and an annuity of 20 years, had been tendered indifferently to the public, the former would have been preferred; but without insisting at all upon the injustice and the danger of throwing upon posterity burthens which it cannot support, it may be questioned, whether a government, possessing great credit, has it not in its power, in a great measure, to prescribe its own terms in contracting a debt.

I hold it to be a certain truth, that where there is a growing capital, the necessity to lend is felt in as sensible a manner, as the necessity to borrow; and that he who has been accustomed to receive interest, or a consideration for the use of money, will be content to receive any, the smallest consideration, rather than allow the capital to remain in a state altogether unproductive.

Let certain facts be granted, and it is incontestible that the price to be paid for the use of money may be reduced to the merest trifle. Nay, that it may be reduced to a negative

quantity, representing the expence of keeping money in a state of safety. Grant, for instance, that there be a large accumulating capital, in this country, that the demand for money for the purposes of agriculture and commerce, and for the service of the state, has been fully supplied, and that a surplus still remains unappropriated, which cannot be invested with security in the funds of any other government. In this case, must not the productive value of this surplus necessarily fall? If, again, we suppose that capital is receding from commercial and political channels, and that there exists a surplus, which cannot absolutely be used in any profitable manner, will any consideration be paid for the use of this money? May it not happen that the very custody of it will become chargeable to the proprietor, since it must be deposited in a place of safety, and entail expence on account of the agency of those who are entrusted with the care of it.

It does not often happen that money is found an expensive possession; but cases have frequently occurred, where capital has been so abundant that no interest could be obtained for the use of it. We hear familiarly of money being depo-

sited without bearing interest, in public and private banks; and we hear sometimes of the difficulty of investing it with safety, and advantage. What does this mean, but that the supply of capital exceeds the demand for it, or that the demand and supply being nearly equal, the borrowers have obtained a superiority over the lenders, by the exertion of greater skill.

In Holland, the interest of money was lower than it was in England, at the same period, although it is unquestionable that the security of loans, both public and private, was quite as great. The Dutch being a thrifty people, the accumulation of capital by savings, was perhaps more rapid with them, in proportion to its extent, and the price obtained for the use of it was consequently lowered by the competition of the lenders.

In England, and in other countries, where there is a large public debt, there must be a considerable accumulation of capital; because, among the creditors of the state, there will always be a considerable number of parsimonious and prudent individuals, who do not expend their income. The savings of such persons constitute a

new capital; and if it be not required for the purposes of agriculture or commerce, it remains absolutely at the disposal of the state. Persons of this description will not cast it away, by lending it to the thoughtless spendthrift, and they will prefer receiving the most moderate interest, with the advantage of security, rather than embark their property in hazardous speculations.

In England the demands of agriculture and commerce have long been supplied, and we have occasionally known trade to be carried on to an injurious extent, from the facility with which capital is procured in this country. In America, and other new countries, circumstances are different. The land, as agriculture advances, is constantly producing new materials for commerce; the capital is not proportionate to the means which exist for employing it; the wants of the people are not generally supplied; and the credit of the government, and of individuals, not being so well established, the rate of interest must be higher.

The foregoing remarks lead to the consideration of another mode of lessening the weight of our incumbrances, which has been adverted to.

Would it not be practicable to raise funds at a lower rate of interest, and to apply them to the liquidation of our present redeemable debt? I am disposed to think that such an operation is perfectly practicable, and that a very considerable saving in the charge of interest might be effected.

It is notorious, that agriculture and commerce are abundantly supplied with capital in Great Britain; the credit of the continental governments is destroyed; no individual in this country would think of investing money in the funds of any of the continental powers, and few would be disposed even to embark capital in the stock of the United States of America. The British government, therefore, in the quality of borrower, would encounter little or no competition.

What the annual accumulation of capital in Great Britain may be, it is not easy for an individual to estimate on satisfactory grounds; but, if our ministers of finance have not given their constant attention to ascertain the extent of that fund, which periodically accumulates, and is disposed to invest itself in the public securities, they have neglected one of the most important branches

of their duty. It may not be possible to ascertain its amount with perfect precision, but an intimate knowledge of the state of agriculture and commerce, and of the domestic concerns of the country, would enable a minister to estimate it with sufficient accuracy for all general purposes.

That the accumulation is considerable, we are well assured, for our government has, during the last twenty years, annually raised an immense sum by public loans; and I shall merely, then, observe, that, from British India alone, we receive annually a capital of at least two millions Sterling, which is held by persons accustomed to invest their property in the government securities, and little disposed to embark it in commercial undertakings.

This fund, with the vast capital which is accumulated throughout the different branches of the empire, is, under ordinary circumstances, at the disposal of the state; and if it be not obtained on terms highly favourable to the borrower, we must attribute his want of success to a want of skill. He goes into the market with the advantage of acting singly without a competitor, while a numerous body of lenders, who cannot easily

act in concert, are ready to meet him with large funds, which they cannot retain a moment in their hands without incurring a positive loss.

Our ministers have been accustomed to invite proposals of contract for supplying the funds which are required from time to time for the public service, and the loans have accordingly fallen into the hands of a few capitalists, who perform the office of agents, or brokers, to the public. These individuals, do not, of course, supply the money themselves; they have charge of the funds of their friends and correspondents, with authority to invest them in the government loans; or they rely on being able to dispose of the stock before they are called upon to make any considerable advances on account of their engagements with the government. In either case, they are retailers of the public loans, receiving a commission or profit to indemnify them for their trouble and risk.

It can never be an object with these persons to lower the rate of interest. On the contrary, their profits, in general, are high in proportion as the interest allowed on the loans may be high; and the utmost competition which can be expect-

ed to prevail, is not likely to induce them to offer terms much below the current rate of interest on the existing debt. They could not engage for the loans on lower terms, without the danger of being disappointed in the retail sale. Whatever dependence, therefore, we have been accustomed to place on the effects of competition, it is in reality reduced within very confined limits.

But if, instead of dealing with the intermediate party, the government addressed itself directly to the public, or to those who actually furnish the funds required; if, too, instead of inviting proposals, the government fixed at once the terms of its loans, and allowed all those to subscribe who might have money to lend, what would be the consequence?

I shall be told that great uncertainty would exist, and that the government could not rely upon obtaining the supply required, at the proper season; that the monied interest would hold back, if the terms offered were not such as they considered suitable; and that a total disappointment might be experienced, and be attended eventually with very serious detriment to the public service.

All this I cannot admit. The consequences of improvidence and mismanagement in administering the affairs of a great nation, may be very serious; but if timely and judicious measures be pursued, no such disappointment is to be apprehended. The capitalist will not forego his income; he will not even, for a few months, retain his funds in an unproductive state. The change in the plan of borrowing will not diminish the capital which would otherwise be available to answer the call for money. The same means of supply would remain, and the government would have it in their power to obtain this supply almost on their own terms. A great reduction in the rate of interest could not suddenly be effected; but it might be accomplished gradually, time being allowed for the mind to reconcile itself to the change, and for all circumstances connected with it, to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. There is absolutely no more reason that money should bear an interest of five per cent, than that it should bear an interest of 4 or 3 per cent, or any other given rate. If the growing capital of a country exceed the demand for it, for political and commercial purposes, and

if it cannot be invested with security and advantage in the funds of a foreign state, it is at the command of the borrower on almost any terms. The rate of interest, or the price to be paid for the use of money, may, I repeat, be reduced almost to a negative quantity.

Had our government proceeded in the manner pointed at, the charge of the public debt would probably have been much less at the present period. That charge might still, perhaps, be reduced by adopting a course of measures, to raise funds at a lower rate of interest, for the purpose of appropriating the amount to the discharge of the present redeemable debt; but such an operation would now be attended with inconvenience, since it would disturb the existing disposition of property, and would place some of the public creditors, whose debt might be paid off, in the disadvantageous situation of having their capital thrown upon their hands, without having any immediate opportunity of reinvesting it with safety and advantage.

This discussion does not then bring us to any satisfactory conclusion. We cannot remedy the evils under which we at present suffer, without

the danger of producing other mischief. But something will have been effected if we be made sensible of our real situation; if a course be pointed out, by pursuing which an impending calamity may be averted, or the aggravation of our present difficulties be prevented. We cannot cancel the debt which has been contracted, or convert it into annuities, without injustice, and a breach of faith. We cannot attempt to reduce the charge of interest, without creating alarm and confusion, and exposing a part of the community to embarrassment and distress. But we can determine to contribute more largely, and in a more equal proportion, to the exigencies of the state, instead of going on to accumulate a debt, which must ultimately overwhelm us; and, when, unfortunately, extraordinary supplies are required for the public service, we can perhaps resort to expedients for raising the public loans in a manner less expensive and burthensome to the nation.

CHAPTER VII.

Recapitulation and Conclusion.

We are no longer in the pastoral state, where the patriarch, receiving the whole produce of his flocks and herds, distributes it among the tribe at his discretion. We are not in the state of those countries, where the prince, become the universal landlord, collects the gross produce of the soil, after leaving a scanty subsistence to the husbandman, and appropriates it to the maintenance of numerous armies, or to the support of an idle pageantry. We are arrived at an age of great refinement, which is distinguished by the progress of agriculture, commerce, and navigation,

by the general use of elaborate machinery in the process of manufacture; and more peculiarly by the introduction of a new instrument for effecting the transfer of property. I call it a new instrument, because a paper currency which represents gold, is essentially gold; but a paper currency representing only a mass of credits, which cannot be realized in any tangible shape, is the mere shadow of property.

Great Britain is rich in resources of every kind, beyond all other countries. Its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, furnish a revenue beyond all precedent; but still the temper and habits of our people, and the nature of our civil institutions, place certain restraints upon the government, in levying contributions for the support of the state. It cannot take the whole produce of the national industry after the manner of an Asiatic despot; and even if there existed no natural limits to production, obstacles would be opposed to the boundless increase of taxation in England, by the character and the prejudices of its population.

The extent to which the taxes can be raised will depend upon the extent of production, and

the rapidity with which exchanges and consumption may take place; and it is impossible, therefore, to fix the precise point at which the power of augmenting the public imposts must cease; but, it is quite certain that there are natural bounds to taxation, and we have strong grounds for suspecting, that the taxes have, in some instances, been carried already so far, as to have a prejudicial influence on the general interests of the country. As, however, the contributions at present levied, are still inadequate to the exigencies of the service, it is become essential, that we consider whether the operation of the taxes ought not to be extended in some other direction, even at the risk of offending the prejudices of the people, and of subjecting a part of the community, to severe privations. We have assessed commodities to the utmost; but we have left particular classes in the enjoyment of incomes, which are not necessary to the happiness of the individual, and which maintain him in a condition adverse to the public interests.

If there be limits to taxation, there must be limits to credit, or the power of imposing obligations on posterity; for we cannot continue for

ever to borrow, for the purpose of paying the interest of a daily increasing debt.

It is equally true, that the currency of a country cannot be augmented indefinitely, for capital itself, having limits, it cannot require an unlimited representation; and exchanges, being confined also within certain bounds, they cannot employ a medium of indefinite extent. If an instrument be created for which there is no use, or, if it be created in a degree exceeding the ordinary demand for it, its value must be depreciated. The quantity of the precious metals, and of precious stones, might be so far augmented, as to render those articles absolutely worthless, or at least unfit for the purposes to which the former are at present applied.

The magnitude of the public debt, and the excess of our paper currency, have already produced much inconvenience, and they threaten the most serious mischief. They have disturbed the relations of property; they have effected partial reductions of income; have aggravated the evils arising from an inequality of conditions, and have enlarged the sphere of corruption. By enhancing the price of provisions, and of la-

bour, they have raised the price of commodities, in a way to check domestic consumption, and to discourage foreign exportation; and, by excluding the precious metals from use, they have in a manner separated this country from the rest of the commercial world, have unsettled exchanges, and have introduced uncertainty and confusion in those transactions by which the debts and credits of countries in connection with us were heretofore arranged and balanced. They have already been productive of much mischief; but we have reason to apprehend consequences infinitely more disastrous, for, should our financial embarrassments terminate in bankruptcy, the whole structure of society must be crushed, and anarchy universally prevail.

The remedy for these evils is not so obvious as their existence is certain; but something will be done if the disease be clearly ascertained and made manifest, and its progress be arrested. This is the end which I have proposed to myself. To intrude upon the public without the prospect of communicating information, or of conveying some lesson of practical utility, would be vain and impertinent. It may, indeed, be considered

presumptuous, to undertake the office of pointing out what appears wrong or dangerous in our situation; but the meanest mariner is wanting in duty, if he neglect to give the alarm when he perceives rocks and shoals, which the more skilful pilot may avoid, if seasonably warned of the danger.

It were better to improve our resources by a reduction of charge, than by an augmentation of revenue; but the necessity for economical reforms in the public expenditure, has so often been insisted upon without effect, that it would seem to be a hopeless labour to renew the theme. We address ourselves in vain to those who have an adverse interest, and who benefit by the existence of those evils, which it is proposed to remedy or mitigate. There is nowhere to be found that spirit of disinterestedness, which might enable a minister to curtail every thing superfluous in the national expenditure. Mr Pitt, was perhaps, the only man, who, from the ascendancy of his great talents, could have undertaken the work with the prospect of success; he enjoyed the confidence of the people, and was all powerful in Parliament, from his unrivalled

eloquence, and the weight of his personal character; but, with all his eminent qualities, he was lavish in the public expenditure, and unbounded profusion marked his administration.

Whether we shall ever have an administration sufficiently virtuous, and sufficiently strong to attempt the reform of abuses, it is impossible to say; but our financial embarrassments will soon press so heavily upon us, that it will be no longer possible to avoid a crisis. We shall then be *compelled* to make great sacrifices; and, as the taxes on consumption have already been extended to the utmost, the rich must contribute more largely in a direct form for the maintenance of that system, in which they have so deep an interest. It is just that they should contribute more largely, and the community would benefit by a more equal distribution of the general wealth. But wherefore delay until we are *compelled* to make sacrifices? Let us rather resolve to make them freely, for, when an external force is applied, which is not under our own controul, we may neither be able to restrain its energies, nor to direct its application to the proper objects.

When, on particular occasions, it may be found impracticable to raise contributions within the year to the full amount required to answer the exigencies of the service, a more judicious mode of negociating the public loans, may, it is believed, be adopted. The plan hitherto pursued in contracting loans, is not calculated to give to the nation all the advantage which it might expect to derive from possessing great capital, and great credit; and a different course of proceeding might be tried with every prospect of success, and without the danger of producing dangerous consequences, even in the event of a total failure. Under any circumstances, it should be the constant study of our ministers of finance, to lower the rate of interest, because high interest tends to concentrate capital in few hands; it increases the public burthens, whenever the nation finds it necessary to contract debt; and it operates as a direct charge upon commerce, precisely in the same manner as a premium of insurance, or a custom-house duty.

It is not less essential, that immediate steps should be taken to place the currency of the country on a safe and proper footing. We shall

otherwise be exposed in a short time to difficulties which it may be found impossible to surmount. Uncertainty and confusion must prevail in all money transactions; two scales of prices for all commodities will be formed, the one regulated by paper, and the other by the precious metals. Two rates of exchange will be established, and be applied in settling foreign debts, according as it may be agreed to make payments in gold, or in our depreciated currency. Accustomed as we are to contemplate with pride and exultation the commercial grandeur of this country, who can look forward to such a state of things, without a feeling of humiliation? We have no excuse, too, for permitting the degradation of our currency. It may be difficult to curtail the national expenditure, and it may be impracticable to enlarge the province of taxation; but it is neither impracticable nor difficult to place bounds to the creation of a currency, which cannot be issued in excess without forfeiting its character, and becoming totally unfit for the purposes which it was originally destined to answer.

These islands have been highly favoured by nature, and we have been particularly fortunate in the selection of a form of government. A natural barrier protects us against the attempts of a foreign enemy, and an excellent constitution of government has secured to us the enjoyment of internal tranquillity. We cannot read the history of other countries, without forming comparisons extremely favourable to our own. Asia and Africa seemed to have been doomed to eternal slavery. The greater part of America has not enjoyed a happier destiny. The continent of Europe has never, for any considerable period, been free from wars, and intestine commotions. The boasted republics of Greece and of Rome, accustomed as we are to venerate those names, enjoyed only short intervals of liberty and repose. They were either engaged in the most destructive civil contentions, or they were held in abject slavery by successive despots, under various designations. The Swiss, indeed, have heretofore been happy in their poverty, and the United States of America, although not exempt from the inconveniencies of factious broils, have so far escaped the more serious disorders which

seldom fail to convulse democratic govern-

his country, the person and property of the subject are protected by wholesome laws, administered with wisdom, impartiality, and integrity. We are safe from the dagger of the assasin, from the noxious breath of calumny, the secret machinations of spies and informers, the persecution of bigotry and fanaticism, the bloody proscriptions of jealous demagogues, the rage of an ungoverned populace, and the fury of a turbulent soldiery. We have no reason to dread the ill-humour of a sovereign, the pride and cruelty of a minister, the malice of an insolent favourite, or the frowns of a capricious mistress. We may think, write, and speak honestly, without reproach or danger, and we are at liberty to follow our religious opinions, without incurring penalties or censures. Every individual is free to pursue his own course of life, under no other restraints than those which decency and morality impose. The field of industry is open to all, and we are certain of enjoying, without obstruction, the fruits of our labour. Talents have a noble field in which to display themselves;

and, notwithstanding the dissipation and corruption of particular classes, virtue and knowledge are held in respect among us. The soil produces abundantly; the skill and ingenuity of our agriculturists and manufacturers have improved and perfected almost every production of nature. The enterprize of our merchants, and the valour of our warriors, have procured for us the choicest productions of every soil and every climate. Science itself has lent its aid to perfect those objects which administer to our comfort, while the mind, enlarged by a liberal education, and the habits of study, is prepared to enjoy, with a more exquisite taste, every intellectual pleasure.

This is a slight sketch of the manifold advantages which have been placed within our reach; but the weed of corruption has taken root in this beautiful garden, and its baneful influence may taint the fairest fruits in their growth. We seem insensible to the value of the many blessings which have been conferred upon us, and we are placing at hazard all our dearest possessions. A spirit of competition, and an over eagerness to acquire riches, make us blind to the means of

obtaining them. Self-interest is perpetually at work, and constitutes an active force, which is constantly pressing upon the government, and often bends it from that plain course which prudence and a regard for the public welfare would dictate. We see with indifference the rapid accumulation of our national burthens, provided that individually we derive, or hope to derive, advantage from the circumstances which produce them. We conceal from ourselves the fact, that there must be limits to the accumulation of debt, and to the powers of taxation, because those limits are enveloped in the cloud which ever hangs over the future. And what is more extraordinary still, we have heedlessly permitted, with a view to a mere temporary convenience, the establishment of a paper currency upon a footing so injudicious, that the use of the precious metals has been superseded, the standard which regulated the value of commodities, which determined exchanges, and checked the fluctuations of income, has been destroyed; while the nation finds itself exposed to the utmost difficulty, and to a heavy loss whenever it engages in a pecuniary transaction with a foreign country.

To return is the difficulty,—to retrace our steps is the labour; but there are few difficulties which prudence will not in the end surmount. The re-establishment of our paper currency need not certainly be regarded as a hopeless object. When that currency shall again be supported, as heretofore by the precious metals, it will be found to answer all the purposes of a convenient economical and unobjectionable instrument, and it will contribute essentially to promote the commercial and financial prosperity of the country.

We have framed the most admirable machinery which the world has ever witnessed, for securing the happiness of a great nation; but the noblest works of human ingenuity are still imperfect, and contain in them the principles of decay. They can be preserved only by prudent and careful management; by a watchful attention to discover the seeds of corruption; and by unceasing efforts to eradicate them ere they germinate and spread around their contagious influence. It is a common and a true remark, that we are never fully sensible of the value of a possession until we have been deprived of it; but this country has so many and such striking objects of comparison before it, that, without wil-

ful blindness, we cannot overlook the numerous and extraordinary advantages which we enjoy. A little wisdom, and a little of the spirit of disinterestedness would not only secure our invaluable possessions from present injury, but would preserve the inheritance unimpaired to our posterity. We see presented to us national greatness and individual happiness on the one hand; and on the other, universal bankruptcy, involving in its consequences the subversion of all our social institutions. Can we hesitate between these alternatives? There is still a choice, and we have it still in our power to revert to the true principles on which our financial prosperity was established, and on which alone it can be perpetuated. May those who undertake with such eagerness and confidence, the charge of our national concerns, become sensible of the many weighty obligations which attach to the trust, and, by a wise, firm, and disinterested conduct, averting the dangers which at present impend, may they establish a lasting claim to the esteem, admiration, and gratitude of their country.

THE END.

Printed by George Ramsay and Co.
Edinburgh, 1813.

THE

AUTHOR

OF

JUNIUS

ASCERTAINED:

FROM A

CONCATENATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES;

AMOUNTING TO

MORAL DEMONSTRATION.

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R. S.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. EGERTON, WHITEHALL.

1817.

LONDON:
Printed by C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *mystery* of JUNIUS increases his importance, said BOYD to WILKES.

I thought, in December, 1799, as I now think, in December, 1816, that it is not the true interest of the United Kingdom to have any *political mystery*. I still presume to be of opinion, that the individual, who lays open to the eye of the world such a *mystery*, deserves well of the PUBLIC.

I did much, in 1800, to expose the *mystery* of JUNIUS. In the period, which has since elapsed, I have not been an inattentive spectator of the events, that have, meantime, passed, with regard to that imposing writer, whose temporary importance is preserved, by his supposed invisibility. If I do not flatter myself too much, I think, I can now ascertain the real author of *Junius*'s Letters, by such a series of facts, and circumstances, as amount

to *moral demonstration.* "Where the agree-
"ment, or disagreement, of any thing, is
"clearly, perceived, it is called *demonstration,*"
saith LOCKE.

I have, at once, shortened, and simplified, this inquiry, by adopting two principles of investigation, which are both satisfactory, and convincing: (1) I mean to prove that the writer of JUNIUS was born, in Ireland: and, if I should succeed, in proving that fact, a long list of claimants, from the Duke of Portland, to De Lolme, for the celebrity, or culpability, of the authorship, must be deprived of that celebration, or of this guilt: (2) I mean to confine my proofs to the affirmative, without going, in any manner, into negative evidence: If I succeed, in my *affirmative proofs*, all *negative evidence* must be vain; and must, incidentally, preclude any question, as to who did *not* write that notorious publication: "Of *ne-*
"*gatives*, we have far the least certainly; they
"are, usually, hardest, and many times, impos-
"sible to be proved," saith TILLOTSON.

The only editions of *Junius*'s Letters, which I regard as *genuine*, are those of 1771, and 1772:

1772: The first, with the word, *Piccadilly*, in the Titlepage, and with anecdotes of the author, was plainly published, under the direction of *Junius* himself, at a critical moment, for the purpose of deception: The second, in two volumes 12°, was published, by the original printer, with a Dedication, and a Preface, by *Junius* himself, and with corrections and improvements; to serve the printer, who had deserved well of the author, and the public; and to prevent "a multitude of spurious, and "mangled editions." The mingling, by interpolation, other pieces, under various signatures, with *Junius*'s Letters, seems to have been reprobated, by the author himself: By interpolation, any proposition may be proved; though the *style*, and *sentiment*, of the real author may be easily distinguished, by accurate observation.

I meddle not with the thousands, great and small, rich and poor, busy and idle, who have found partizans, to support claims, which were never made, and pretensions, which were plainly disavowed: Much less do I meddle with any hardy speculatist, who may adopt a theory

a theory of belief, and may persevere in probation, though the imputed author declares such a theory to be *a silly, malignant, falsehood.* There can only be one truth; and when that single truth appears, with all the features of veracity about it, candour, feeling its force, easily yields to its fitness. On the other hand; "there cannot be any thing, so disingenuous, "and misbecoming any rational creature, as "not to yield to plain reason, and the convic-"tion of clear argument;" as we may learn from LOCKE.

THE

AUTHOR OF JUNIUS

ASCERTAINED.

WHEN I formerly took the liberty to give my opinion on this interesting topic, I was drawn aside, from more agreeable avocations, in which there was no personal acrimony, nor interested recriminations.

I do not, however, regret my deviation. I have, meanwhile, reviewed my documents; I have collected new informations; and I am now much more convinced of the truth of my former opinion, which has been strengthened by time, and confirmed by chance. The result of all my inquiries, with regard to a subject, which is, surely, harmless enough, if it be merely a question, as to who wrote a seditious paper, upwards of forty years ago, whatever any man may think of the *presumption* of exercising, liberally, the private right of public discussion, on a general subject, in which the people of this country have a right to investigate, and an interest to ascertain.

I will

I will now proceed, briefly, to submit my facts, and to state my proofs to all, who can find an interest, or feel a gratification, in such an inquiry; who can read without prejudice, and determine without partiality.

It has been supposed, though I know not on what evidence of fact, or deductions of argument, that the writer of JUNIUS was some great character; some man of high rank; some writer of vast erudition; some lawyer of great knowledge; some politician of prodigious importance. Yes: every impostor pretends to vast importance, when he wishes to impose upon the world. But, what are the pretensions of the writer of JUNIUS to greatness? As a man of quality, he condescended to write three years in the Newspapers, [from the 21st of January, 1769, to the 21st of January, 1772]; to altercate with Horne, and colleague with Wilkes; to mingle in city politics, and to run about the streets, during the wretched discussions of wretched times; to obtain informations on common topics; and to write speedy answers to petty objections. The improbability, that a man of any quality, or any fashion, would act thus, cannot be repelled by the consideration of "the tone of equality, which he "used in his expressions, respecting persons of "rank." The whole was mere assumption, for seditious purposes. From experience, however, we know, that every anarchist writes of the greatest personages, with perfect equality, and attacks the most revered establishments, without modesty; because his purposes are to degrade greatness, and undermine

undermine stations. Whoever undertakes to maintain so egregious an improbability, that any respectable character would remain, in London, during three years, to altercate in the Newspapers, ought to bring with him, into Court, the strongest evidence.

He, who contends for the *erudition* of JUNIUS, would do well, to produce examples of his profound literature, that his pretensions may be scanned, from his performances. When *erudition* is mentioned, we think of Bentley and Bryant, of Buchanan and Ruddiman, of an Usher and a Ware. The Englishman, who cannot write the English language, with grammatical purity, cannot be praised, for his learning, or admired as a writer. The letters of JUNIUS were plainly produced, by a juvenile scribbler, who had not formed his style upon any model; and who had not impressed upon his memory any grammatical rules of the vernacular speech.

But, he was a *jurist*. No: a commentator upon Coke—Littelton avers, that JUNIUS "was not a "profound lawyer, as we may infer, from the gross "inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions."* He, then, who pretends to discuss *law questions*, in *legal expressions* of *gross inaccuracy*, is not a lawyer, though his presumption might contest with Mansfield, or argue with Thurlow.

But, he was a writer of *political importance*. Yes: he scribbled himself, and was scribbled by

* See C. B [utler]'s Observations in the Anti-Jacobin Review, July, 1799.—p. 347.

others, into importance; and he claimed, for himself, the high station of political importance. "Of all "the political writers," says he, with his usual modesty, "that have distinguished themselves, since "the Brunswick accession to the throne of Great "Britain, the author of JUNIUS's *Letters* is, un- "doubtedly, one of the most eminent: others have "espoused as noble a cause, and with equal zeal, "but few, or none, with equal abilities." In *his Antrim Letters*, he again makes the same claim, in similar language, of presumption. LOCKE, he allows, did much; but JUNIUS did more. "I "should never have stationed him," says Johnson, "where he has placed himself, had I not rated "him by his morals, rather than his faculties."

We may now perceive, from this general view, who the *Author* of JUNIUS was not. And, by freeing ourselves, by such previous investigations, from prejudice, from prior conceptions, and established habits of idle reasoning, we may proceed to the inquiry, of who the *Author* of JUNIUS was, with more coolness of consideration, with a greater desire of attending to circumstances, and with a more ardent wish of ascertaining facts.

The mystery, which covered this secret, for thirty years, was raised, partly by artifice, and partly by scepticism. JUNIUS himself, with characteristic cunning, attributed, as early as 1771, the writing of his own lampoons, to Edmond Burke, who disavowed this impertinence, in the plainest manner. Various persons, who thought well, no doubt, of their own powers of perception, attributed the writing

writing of JUNIUS to characters, who were eminent for rank, or distinguished for literature. The slightest circumstances were caught at, in order to establish conjectures, which judgment would have reprobated, had facts been ascertained; had inferences been weighed, had self-sufficiency been less consulted. Scholarship has deluded itself, and the world, by the strange sophism, of dictating, when it ought to learn, of assuming what ought to have been ascertained, and criticising what had been never read; of deciding, without proofs, and of arrogating, without much knowledge, either of the author, or his powers of performance.

In these views of the subject, it may be of some use to such critics, as describe JUNIUS, as an *incomparable writer*, to compare his various performances with the established rules, and to weigh his beauties, with his blemishes, in equal scales. It is apparent, however, this *incomparable writer* had never attended to the grammatical lessons of LOWTH, whether we examine his style, as it appears in "the Genuine Letters of JUNIUS, 1771," or the genuine edition of the same Letters, 1772. That admirable grammarian of the English tongue had shewn the value, and the use, of the article. But, of this rule our incomparable writer had no knowledge, if we may judge, from his practice.* If this rule be not observed, the English language cannot be said to

* In the Genuine Letters, 1771, we may see "*Contents*," for *the* Contents; the first Lord of Treasury, for *the* Treasury. In the corrected edition, 1772, we may perceive Dedication, for *the* Dedication; Preface, for *the* Preface.

be accurately written; and, if the English language be not *accurately* written, it is absurd, to call an English writer *incomparable*, who cannot write the language of England. That erudite grammarian, in shewing the youth of England how to write the language of Spenser, and Shakspeare, of Hooker, and Bacon, inculcates the nature, and the use, of the *subjunctive mood*, of which the writer of JUNIUS seems to have known nothing.* A thousand such inaccuracies may be seen, in the heedless, but glittering pages of JUNIUS. Every boy, in England, knows how the verb must agree with its nominative, whether it be singular, or plural; and, without adverting constantly to this universal rule, no language can be written, without irregularity, and confusion.† In the *incomparable* pages

* We may every where see examples of this defect, in the *incomparable* pages of JUNIUS: "If I am [be] not grossly mistaken; "if Corsica *has* [have] been shamefully abandoned; if com- "merce *languishes* [languish]; if public credit *is* [be] threatened; "if he *loves* [love] his people, he will dissolve a Parliament; if "he *has* [have] any regard for his own honour."

† See how the *incomparable* JUNIUS conforms to that essential rule: "Both minister and magistrate *is* [are] compelled." "The "character and tenor *is* [are] an answer."—"The character of "your private life, *and* the uniform tenor of your public conduct "*is* an answer to them all," [are answers to all those questions.] "With which a *certain part* of your subjects *have* [has] been at "all times ready." "But, calumny and sedition *is* the charac- "teristic," [are the characteristics of.] "It is the misfortune of "your life, and [was] originally the cause of every reproach *and* "distress, which *has* [have] attended your government." In this specimen, there are two breaches of the rule: the verb is *singular*, when it ought to have been *plural;* and the present tense, or time,

pages of JUNIUS, *has, hath,* and *have,* dance (to use his own phraseology) in an intricate maze of anomaly, and confusion. This ungrammatical dance may be seen, in the note below, in a wonderful maze of distraction and embarrassment.*

There are a thousand other faults in the *immaculate* pages of JUNIUS, which might be easily produced, but were tedious to narrate. Take a few examples from "Dedication to the English Nation:" "When kings and ministers *are* [shall be] forgotten, "when the force, *and* direction of personal satyre *is* "[shall be] no longer understood, and when mea- "sures *are* [shall be] only felt in their remotest "consequences, this book will, I believe, be found "to contain principles worthy to be transmitted "to posterity. When you leave the unimpaired, "hereditary freehold to your children, you do but "half your duty. Both liberty and property are "precarious, unless the possessors have sense and "spirit *enough* [enow], to defend them. This is

time, is made present when it ought to have been past: originally *is* cannot be; the adverb *originally* requires the verb to be in the past tense *was*, and not the present *is*.

* "Unhappily for this country, the diffidence, distrust, and divi- "sion, which thus arose between the parties so greatly interested in, "and desirous of promoting the common cause, *have* not only pre- "vented their private success, but *hath* at the same time *occasioned* "*the cause* of the public to miscarry." Take another example:— "This he has continued to do on almost every important occa- "sion, so effectually, that, *if* his success *hath* [have] done honour "to his patrons in the choice of such a champion, the side he "*hath* taken on every interesting question, *has* reflected no less "honour on the rectitude of his understanding, than it *hath* re- "commended that of his heart."

" not the language of vanity. If I *am* [be] a vain " man, my gratification lies within a very narrow " circle. I am the *sole depositary* of my own *se-* " *cret*, and *it shall perish with me.* Yet, Almon " had detected the author; the author's wife had " detected him, and it will appear, that he had re- " vealed his *detected secret*, nine years before he " perished."

Yet, with all this vanity, all this ambition of future fame, *Junius* was but a juvenile, and heedless writer. Many of the before-mentioned blunders may be attributed to his juvenility. Who but the most heedless of writers would talk of the vital *principal* of a deliberative assembly? Only such writers could substitute dic*tam* for dic*tum.* None but a heedless writer, himself a student of law, would speak of " the facts being either ad- " mitted by Woodfall's *council*" [counsel]. Analogous to those faults, in composition, is the practice of *barbarism*, or the use of words, or of phrases, which are inconsistent with the purity, and exactness of any language.* Such, then, are the *barbarisms*, which were scattered, with a juvenile pen,

* " National reflections *are not justified*," [*to be justified*; or are not *justifiable*]. " If my conduct may admit a vindication in " these points, it is not less *vindicable* with respect to Mr. " Wilkes;" [to be vindicated; there is no such word as *vindicable*]:—" Perhaps they meant no more than *a* ruin of a " minister;" [*the* ruin of a minister]: " The most moderate dis- " positions to *make common cause*, even with a man;" [to make *a* common cause]: " Elder sons;" for eldest sons: " distin- " guishedly;" for *distinguishingly*; there is no such word as *distinguishedly*. " Stile" is used, by him, anomalously, for *style*.

through

through the impure pages of *Junius:* but *Junius* was better employed, as we learn, from his brother, Philo-Junius, than to condescend to *verbal criticisms. Junius*, it seems, was too *incomparable a writer* to attend to the purity of his words, or the propriety of his phrase. *Junius* would rather be deemed a nonsensical writer, than condescend to verbal criticisms.* Every hasty page of *Junius* is crowded with such nonsense: but Junius was too busy to attend to the verbal criticism of perusing what he wrote, and correcting what was wrong. *Junius* was, however, with all his barbarisms, and nonsense, an *incomparable writer*, who was kicked, from the arena, by Johnson; and was deeply wounded, by Horne, in their short, but severe conflict; wherein there were, on the side of Horne,

* Take the following examples: "What is it, then, but an "odious, unparalleled exertion of a speculative right, *and fixing* "*a badge* of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their "masters." Again—"Let it be *my* humble office to collect the "scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures *the sense:*" the sense of what; of hearing, seeing, or smelling? "I am not so "partial to the royal judgment, as to affirm, that the favour of "a king can remove mountains of infamy, it serves to lessen at "least, for undoubtedly it divides the burthen;" [though it may serve to lessen, since it may divide.] Again—"Consider how "much of it [the Duke's merit] would have been lost to the world, "if the king had not graciously affixed his stamp, [upon it] and "given it currency among his subjects." Again—"You were "scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the "executive *branch of the legislature* is legally invested;" [branch of the constitution; *the legislature* cannot be said to have any *executive branch.*] "The shortening [of] the duration of parlia-"ments *is* a subject, on which Mr. Horne cannot enlarge too "warmly."

most

most accuracy of style, most closeness of argument, and most pointedness of sarcasm. When we have, accurately, compared the blemishes, and the beauties, of *Junius*, what do we leave him, but his personal satyre, and national reflections?

In such an inquiry as this, it is of equal importance, to ascertain the *country of the author*, as to investigate the proprieties of his language, the value of his writings, and the utility of his three years assiduous labours: for, the great question still recurs, who was *the author* of *Junius's Letters?* Whoever will take the trouble to peruse, with any attention, his glittering pages, must perceive, both in his *matter* and his *manner*, in his peculiarity of phrase, and nationality of allusion, that he was a native of Ireland; a juvenile Irishman.

The Epistles of *Junius* were not written by a Scotsman; as he avows, on all occasions, his abhorrence of Scotland, and Scotsmen, and speaks contemptuously, of the Scotish historian, and the Scotish chief justice. The letters of *Junius* were not written, by an Englishman; as almost every page of his work evinces, that it was not written in the idiom of England. An English scholar would not have used *elder* for eldest; because the English language does not admit of a comparative, without a correlative, *elder* for *eldest* is an Irishism. Horne, in his scuffle with Junius, intimates the country of his birth, when he says—"I do not charge this "to the score of malice in him; it proceeded en- "tirely from *his propensity to blunder*, that whilst he

" he was reproaching me, for introducing, in the " most harmless manner, the name of *one* female, he " might himself, at the same instant, introduce *two*."

Junius says to Horne—" I will not descend to " answer the little sneering sophistries of a *col-* " *legian*." This word, which is peculiarly used, in the university of Dublin, establishes the suspicion of Horne.* Throughout every page of *Junius*, there is a peculiarity of phrase, which is contrary to the style, and manner, in which the English language is written, by English scholars.† Such is the

* George Dempster, Esq. who is still remembered, as the respectable representative of the Dundee district of Boroughs, wrote, from Dunichen, to me, on the 24th of March, 1800: " By *collegian* " alone you have acquitted the whole English nation. I acquit " all Scotland; for we more frequently say *colligener* than *colle-* " *gian*. And I hold it fixed, by you, on the provinces of Ulster " and Munster."

† An ingenious friend has informed me that, in 1769, he published, in the Gazetteer, an Essay, which was signed MODESTUS, in order to determine a wager, whether Junius were an Irishman. It was, previously, agreed, that if *Junius* should notice this Essay, on the charge of his being an Irishman, the wager should be won; if he should pass over that Essay, in silence, the wager should be lost. On the 19th of October, 1769, Philo-Junius, that is, the author of *Junius*, formally answered *Modestus*, who had acutely said, that neither an Englishman, nor a Scotsman, and none but an Irishman, would have made Sir Wm. Draper *repose* on a *bed of torture*. Philo-Junius exclaimed—" But, why must *Junius* be " an *Irishman? Modestus* cannot distinguish between a *sarcasm* " and *a contradiction*."—We thus see, that Philo-Junius failed, egregiously, in his answer, if answer he must give, while the *charge was true:* he was not charged with a *sarcasm*, nor a *contradiction*, but with a *blunder: Modestus* might have answered the question of PHILO-JUNIUS, why must *Junius be an Irishman?* in this

the importance of this inquiry, concerning *the country* of the *Author* of *Junius*, that if the question were answered, in the affirmative, this circumstance

this manner—because the whole language of *Junius* is quite different from the language of England, when it is written by English scholars; because he uses words, and phrases, which are peculiar to Ireland, but not to England. There were other persons, besides *Modestus*, who thought, and said, that *Junius* was written, by an Irishman; Earl Temple said to Almon, "that he "did not pretend to know the writer of *Junius*, but he was cer- "tain *that he was an Irishman.*" An Irish nobleman lately said to a friend of mine, "that he was pretty certain, that the writer of *Junius* was an *Irishman*, from a peculiar expression, in his first letter: "I think it ill becomes the royal dignity to have the debts "of a prince provided for, like the repairs of a *country* bridge *or* "*a decayed hospital.*" His lordship added, that the reference here is to the *Irish*, rather than the *English* practice. Whoever will peruse the pages of *Junius*, with a view to those topics, will plainly perceive a thousand expressions, which English scholars never use, even during their most heedless moments. Junius uses *stile*, anomalously, for *style*, which he borrowed from Dean Swift. *Vindicable*, *Junius* did not find, in the English language. "Dis- "tinguishedly" he must have found in some other speech, as the English use *distinguishingly*, for with distinction. The *executive* branch of *the legislature*; this may be the idiom of any other country, but the English speak of the *executive* part of *the constitution*. Then *a ruin* of a minister;—to *make common cause*: these may be *Irish* modes of writing, but they are not *English*. 'It *is* the misfortune of your life, and, originally, the cause of every reproach, *and* distress, which *has* attended your government:—Originally *is* may be Irish; but, reproach *and* distress, which *has* [have], are neither Irish, nor English. The *dictam* is true, though not in the sense [which was] given to it, by Lord Mansfield; and *if*, in the course of the trial, any question of law *arises* [arise], both the *council* [counsel] and jury, must appeal to the judge: in what language is such *balderdash* appropriate? *Elder* for

eldest,

stance would cut off the whole list of claimants, for the honour of writing bad grammar, and false English, invidious censures, and personal criminations, national reflections, and treasonous lampoons.

It must be apparent to every discerning eye, as it was to the casual inspection of Wilkes, that the *Epistles of Junius* were written, by an *inexperienced hand*, with *a juvenile pen*. But, is it probable, that such papers could have been written, by such a pen, by a youth, at the age of three and twenty? Yes: Tom Chatterton was such a youth, and was, at the same time, walking the streets, in quest of bread: he died on the 20th of August, 1770, when he had not reached his twentieth year. It was a favourite maxim of this extraordinary boy, "That man is equal to any thing; and that "every thing might be achieved by diligence and "abstinence." This observation would alone show how intuitively he had penetrated into hu-

eldest, and *younger* for *youngest*, are modes of Ireland, whereof we may see specimens in the last will of Junius's father. But I have done! I have now shown the writer of *Junius* to be an Irishman, by all the proofs, which the question admits of; beginning with *the author's acknowledgement*, and ending with *his father's practice*. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems to be quite clear, that the author of *Junius* was not educated in Great Britain. The intimate acquaintance, which *Junius* every where displays with the families, and affairs, of Ireland is a full confirmation of that position. See how familiarly he enters into the life, and character of Edmond Burke, when the real author ascribed the authorship, without reserve, to that eminent person, who did not hesitate to say to Sir William Draper, that *he was not the author of Junius*.

man

man nature. Chatterton has been likened, by critical enthusiasm, as an impostor, to Mahomet; and by the same enthusiastic zeal he has been compared, as a poet, to Milton. It is agreed, however, by some of the most accurate critics, that Chatterton was one of the rarest geniuses, which Britain, fruitful as it always has been of great men, has ever produced. At the same moment, there were some other youths of very wonderful powers, acting on the stage of policy, or coming forward in the scene. As a *politician*, Chatterton was a rival to some, and an equal of the greatest of them. At the same troublous moment he wrote both for, and against, the Government.*

In the investigation of the powers of *youth*, is it, then, improbable to say, that since Chatterton could write what has been deemed equal to the

* On the 26th of May, 1770, Chatterton addressed a letter to Lord North, signed MODERATOR, which began thus:—"My Lord, it gives me a painful pleasure," and which contained an encomium on the Administration, for rejecting the City Remonstrance. On the same day, Chatterton wrote an epistle to the Lord Mayor, Beckford, which was signed PROBUS, and which contained a virulent invective against the Government, for rejecting the same Remonstrance, beginning thus:—"When the endeavours of a spirited people to free themselves from insupportable slavery," &c. [See Gregorie's Life of Chatterton, and Chatterton's Miscellanies, &c.] Beyond such splendid declamations JUNIUS could not go. In the CONSULIAD, Chatterton has the following passage:—

"Inflated Discord heard, and left her cell,
"With all the horrors of her native hell:
"She, on the soaring wings of genius, fled,
"And wav'd the pen of JUNIUS round her head."

finest

finest productions of the ablest writers, he was quite equal to the Author of JUNIUS, with all his *finery* and his *faults?* A pension of 200*l.* to *Chatterton* would have silenced *Junius*, as we may perceive, from what he said of *Junius*, in his CONSULIAD. Of *Chatterton* it was observed, by BRYANT, that, with all his powers, he could not write *grammatically*. Has not the same observation been made of *Junius?* But, did it require the erudition of Bryant to discover, that between natural genius, and artificial learning, wide is the difference? This observation is alone sufficient to illustrate the scholastic character of *Junius*, which was, indeed, superior to that of *Chatterton*. *Junius* had uncommon genius, but he wanted grammatical knowledge of the English tongue. Wilkes, shrewdly, said of *Junius*, that as a writer, he wanted experience. It was, incidentally, said, by others, that he wanted age.

But, the question still recurs, who was the person, who was thus deficient in experience, and who thus wanted age? Who was the real author of *Junius's* Letters? This is, certainly, the main question, which remains to be answered, in the present inquiry. Those preliminary disquisitions require, as essential points, that he should be an *Irishman;* that he should be a *youthful writer*. And I will now proceed to evince, that Hugh Mac Aulay, the second son of Alexander Mac Aulay, a barrister, at Dublin, by the eldest daughter of Hugh Boyd of Ballycastle, was the real author of *Junius's Letters*. Hugh Boyd, of Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim,

trim, who is still remembered, in his country, for having, by his industry, his prudence, and his sagacity, amassed a considerable estate; and is recorded, in the Journals of the Irish Parliament, as the person, who obtained considerable sums, from the mistaken munificence of the Irish Commons, for constructing the harbour of Ballycastle.*

Alexander Mac Aulay rose to notice by his diligence of application, rather than his knowledge of law, by the steadiness of his perseverance, more than the brilliancy of his oratory. He was made one of the king's counsel at law, for the kingdom of Ireland, whilst that distinction was more coveted, because it was less common, than it is at present: and, he was appointed the judge of the Consistory Court; a promotion, which he had amply earned, by his vigorous defence of ecclesiastical rights. In early life, he had distinguished himself by his political treatises: but, the first of his pamphlets, which attracted much public notice, was "*Property Inviolable*," published about the year 1737. In this tract, which displayed the determined spirit of the man, he exposed, and reprobated, the proceedings of the Irish Commons, who arrogated to themselves the right of deciding upon the clergy's title to the *tithe of agistment*, by a vote of their house alone. Neither Hampden, who opposed the ship-money of a King, nor Stowell of

* There is, in the 7th vol. of the Irish Journals, p. 501-42, an interesting report on that expensive work, which was intended to supply Dublin with cheap coal, but which terminated, only, in the improvement, and increase of Mr. Boyd's private fortune.

Exeter,

Exeter, who stood upon his defence against the arbitrary imprisonments of a House of Commons, at a factious epoch, deserve greater celebration, for their magnanimous defence of national liberty, than Mac Aulay merited, for his undaunted firmness, in defending the undoubted rights of the clergy, against proceedings, which were unwarranted, by any principle of the constitution, and indefensible, by any maxim of the law of the land.

Alexander Mac Aulay preserved his importance, because he continued his exertions, till his death. As the King's learned counsel, he published, in 1763, "An Enquiry into the Legality of Pensions "on the Irish Establishment:" He concludes his *impeachment of pensions*, by exclaiming: "If such "pensions be found on the Irish establishment; "let such be cut off; and let the perfidious advi- "sers be branded with indelible characters of "public infamy, adequate, if possible, to the dis- "honour of their crime." Mac Aulay, who had been all his life an opponent of the English government of Ireland, changed his tone, during the Earl of Hertford's administration: and, "find- "ing an author *under the mask of patriotism*, "had lately published a pamphlet of evil ten- "dency," Mac Aulay sent forth, in January, 1766, "Septennial Parliaments vindicated," which he addressed to the Lord Lieutenant. He had not, however, the satisfaction of living to see the establishment of octennial parliaments, which took place, during the administration of Lord Townshend. He died, after a laborious life of profes-

sional duties, on the 13th of July, 1766; leaving two sons, and two daughters, who had all been assiduously educated by two very capable parents.* The excellent wife of Mac Aulay, and mother of H. Boyd, died about the year 1782. His eldest son Alexander, who had been bred to the bar, settled on the family estate of Glenville, and married the sister of Lord Gosford; his second son is the memorable object of the present inquiry: one of the daughters married Mr. Adair, of Ballymenon, in the county of Antrim; the other daughter married John Godley of the county of Armagh, Esq. and is, according to the observation of my intelligent informant, "a lady, highly gifted, and accomplished."

Such was the father of Hugh Mac Aulay, who was born, on the 16th of April, 1746, a day, which will always be memorable, in our annals, for the decisive battle of Culloden-field. Dublin, which had produced an USHER, and a BURKE, has also the honour of giving birth to Hugh Mac Aulay, at his father's house, in Ship-street. His father, as I have already shown, from good authority, was extremely attentive to the education of his children. Hugh himself used to say "that he was put very "young to school, and soon became much attached "to books."† But, the Metamorphoses of Ovid first struck his attention, and best amused his infancy, as this poet had amused the childhood of

* Gent. Mag. 1766, p. 343. "Died, Alexander Mac Aulay, "M. P. for Thomaston."

† Life by his Editor.

Milton,

Milton, and had attracted the notice of Ruddiman. He felt no ambition, like them, to display his premature scholarship, by making Latin verses; and from my inquiries at Dublin, I am led to believe, that he did not copy the example of Pope, in trying to gratify his father, by composing English rhymes. But, it is a fact, which is more important to state, that his father, "who laboured anxiously "his education, and fondly saw in his budding "parts the promise of a copious harvest, *sometimes "censured his son's* PROSE, for being *too* POETICAL, "and prescribed, as a model to him, the chaste "style of Swift, and Addison; 'that he might "learn' (to use the old man's own words) 'to com-"bine the strength and precision of the one, with "the simplicity and easy elegance of the other.*'" The seeds, however, of poetic imagery, which nature had scattered in Mac Aulay's mind, never ripened into a harvest of poetry. He was educated at the school of the Reverend Thomas Ball, in Ship-street, before mentioned; a school, which, among other distinguished scholars, and characters, sent forth Lord Clare, and Henry Grattan; who, being nearly of the same age, were of the same class, with Hugh Mac Aulay; and yet remained a year behind him in Ship-street.

The step from the school to the college forms an important epoch in the biography of youth. Our student "was received, as a fellow commoner, into

* From the letter of my very well informed correspondent at Dublin.

" the university of Dublin, by the name of Hugh " Mac Aulay, on the 8th of July, 1761."* Here, he is said, by his biographer, to have pursued his favourite studies, with assiduity, and delight: he *certainly acquitted himself* with *credit*, as I have been assured by a class-fellow of our student, in the same college. He obtained his Batchelor of Arts degree, on the 19th of February, 1765. He thus continued long enough, in Trinity College, to be *highly cultivated*, and to possess *considerable talents*, as I have been told, by the same learned, and discerning, class-fellow of his. He could not well be otherwise, from his natural endowments. He had a *memory* of singular strength: and, while he remained at Trinity college, he disclosed the very uncommon faculty of carrying on multiplication to a great extent, at least to the length of multiplying nine cyphers by nine, with the help of his memory alone: he performed this operation, for a wager, in London, some years afterwards. In addition to this strength of memory and steadiness of head, he had an apprehension of great readiness; an intellect of uncommon solidity; and besides all those faculties, he enjoyed a wonderful dexterity, in applying them to every purpose. The characteristic precision, with which he carried off

* I learned this important fact, from the obliging information of the Rev. Doctor George Hall of Trinity College, Dublin: and this fact proves, that our student still, at that time, passed by his father's name; and shows, incidentally, that the story of Hugh Mac Aulay being always called Boyd, which is told by some intelligent men, in Ireland, is unfounded.

the

the speeches of the greatest orators, is alone a satisfactory proof, that he enjoyed all those powers, in a high degree: and it is a strong confirmation of this reasoning, that he was a good chess-player, and made a stand against Count BRUHL.

Like other young men of powerful minds, and irregular practices, he remained, for some time, in suspense, about the choice of his profession. He inclined, for a while, to prefer the sword to the gown; as his eldest brother, Alexander, had already entered himself of the Temple. After some consideration, he determined, however, from the propensities of his habit, to follow the profession of his father. In the mean time, Hugh Mac Aulay, owing to his passion for dissipation, became involved, as we are told, by his biographer, "in great pecu-"niary difficulties, at the age of *nineteen* [1765]."*

With all those embarrassments, practices, and habits, he came to London, before the decease of his father, on the 13th of July, 1766;† in order to prosecute the study of the law.‡ But, the propensities

* The Preface to the Indian Observer, p. xvi.

† I think it more than probable, that the notice of the death of his father, which appears, in the Gentleman's Magazine, was communicated by Hugh Mac Aulay, who was, at the time, in London.

‡ It is supposed, by some very well-informed lawyers, at Dublin, that Hugh Mac Aulay-Boyd *was called to the Bar in England.* But, it is a fact, which I state upon the credit of a very careful search of the Registers belonging to the four Inns of Court, that he was never entered in any of the Inns, by either of his names of Mac Aulay, or of Boyd. This is a curious circumstance

sities of our student carried him as often to St. Stephen's Chapel, as to Westminster Hall: he used frequently to retire from a long debate to *the Grecian*" [coffee house], where he met his fellow "Templars; and would sometimes astonish them "by a seemingly perfect recital of the *chef-d'œuvre* "of the night."* He is, at this time, described by another lawyer, who knew him personally, "as a "good-natured, lively, man, famous for repeating "[parliamentary] speeches; and always bustling "about something or another."† As to his *politics;* Mac Aulay, partly from the place of his birth, partly from the example of his father, partly from his natural temperament, and partly from the factiousness of the times, was an Anarchist, if we may consider his avowed writings, as preferable proofs, to private prejudices: as a *Whig*, he was *Whigissimus;* not an old Whig, but a new Whig, who exerted great activity in promoting "the good old

in itself; and shows clearly, how much preferable circumstantial evidence is to the exceeding fallibility of human testimony. It is sufficiently known, with what accuracy those Registers are kept: and, it follows of course, that Mac Aulay-Boyd *was never called to the Bar in England.* The very intelligent Earl of Macartney, to whom I owe an obligation, for his remarks on, and corrections of my former edition of this work, says, that Mr. H. Mac Aulay never was called to the English Bar; but, he could not have been called to the Irish Bar, without having been entered in one of the four Inns of Court; and observed his terms, and kept his commons here.

* From the information of a lawyer of great eminence of Dublin, who was, at that time, a Templar with Mac Aulay.

† C. B[utler], Anti-Jacobin Review, July, 348.

"Cause."

" Cause."* If, from *the Whig*, we throw a retrospective glance upon the Letters of the *Freeholder* to the *Electors* of *Antrim*, in 1776, we shall perceive, that he then maintained revolutionary doctrines, in order to influence an election.† If, from these letters, we take another retrospect of ten years, we shall easily discover the political principles, which Mac Aulay brought with him, from the noisy scene of Dr. Lucas, at Dublin, to the more ample theatre of Wilkes and Liberty, at London.

* See *The Whig* in Almon's Anecdotes, v. iii. p. 1. I yield willing obedience to the juridical rule, which requires, that he who offers a document in evidence, ought to verify it, and connect it with the cause in issue. Mr. Almon is the principal witness, on this litigated question: and, he says, that in 1779, and 1780, he published a Newspaper, called the *London Courant*; that he was perfectly acquainted with the chief writers in it, and with Hugh Boyd particularly; and that he does know, that Hugh Boyd was the undoubted writer of the Essays in it, which were entitled *The Whig*; and which were published, in that newspaper, during the months of November and December, 1779, and of January and March, 1780.

† Hugh Boyd was discovered to be the author of the *Freeholder's Letters*, " by finding a scrap of the manuscript copy, which " the printer had neglected to destroy." [The Life of Boyd, p. 18.] Having written to an intelligent friend, at Belfast, Stephen Haven, the late Solicitor-General, in the Bahamas, for a copy of *The Freeholder's Letters*, he wrote me, in answer, on the 19th of October, 1799: " I will make a point of searching the " booksellers shops for the pamphlet you write for: the *Letters* " are within the recollection of several of my acquaintance, who " tell me, they were written by a Mac Aulay-Boyd, who went to " India with Lord Macartney." It is a fact, then, which is notorious amongst the well informed men of Belfast, that Mac Aulay-Boyd wrote *The Freeholder's Letters*.

Hugh Mac Aulay was naturally recommended to the care of Mr. James Adair, an Irish factor, in the city, the father of the late Serjeant, and his own relation, in whose house, he, for a while, became domesticated. The genteel address, and insinuating manners, of Mac Aulay, easily introduced him into fashionable life, and literary society. He became intimate with Mr. Richard Burke, whose principles and habits are said to have been similar to his own. He gained ready admission into the families of Mr. Edmond Burke, and of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He obtained the familiarity of Garrick. He became acquainted with some few members of the *Literary Club*.* And, becoming a *Man of the Town*, he, incidentally, *became all things to all men*. It is seldom, that any youth gains so many friends, as Mac Aulay, and, by his friends, is ever so much beloved, as he appears to have been. From those intimations, we may perceive the sources of much of his information, as a political writer, if we consider, that he had great readiness of apprehension, and still greater strength of memory; that he possest, in a high degree, the important faculty of knowing when to speak, and when to be silent; how to gain, and how to keep a secret.

But, whatever a man's friendships, and occupations, may be, the principal epoch of his life is his marriage. From Hugh Mac Aulay's connections,

* See his Life prefixed to the *Indian Observer*, p. 5, 6. Lord Macartney said, Mac Aulay was acquainted with *very few* of the members of the *Literary Club*.

in

in the city, he probably became acquainted with Miss Frances Morphy, a lady of elegance, and of some fortune, who lived with her mother, near Tower-hill: And, her he married, on the 29th of December, 1767, when he was yet under two-and-twenty; and she was still younger.*

We have here record-evidence to prove again, that he still passed, by his father's name, in 1767, at the era of his marriage. His mother's father is said to have died in 1765: But, we are assured, that "the bequest of his maternal grandfather did not "fall to him till some time after his marriage; "and that when he got the estate, it was so much "encumbered with annuitants, and harassed by "consequent litigations, as to afford him hardly

* "Hugh Mac Aulay, Esq. of the parish of St. Paul, Covent-"Garden, Batch. and Frances Morphy of this parish spinster, "were married in this church, by license, this twenty-ninth day "of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and "sixty-seven, "By me George Baxter, A. M.

"This marriage was solemnized between us { Hugh Mac Aulay, Frances Morphy.

"In the presence of { Will: Thornton, H: Macleane."

"N. B. The above is a copy of the marriage register of the parish of Allhallows, Barking, taken this tenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, by me, James Roe, curate." The Rev. George Baxter died at Chelsea on the 19th of December, 1801. He remembered, that Mac Aulay appeared to him, at that time, as a very intelligent, lively, and conversible, young man; that he afterwards dined with him, in Great Marlborough-street: And, he thinks he heard, that Mac Aulay changed his name to Boyd, about a twelvemonth after his marriage.

"any

" any relief."* As his own father did not die opulent, we may easily suppose, that the son was deprived, in 1766, at once, of the benefit of a parent's advice, and of the resource of a father's purse. From his father's will he derived an annuity of 100*l.*

Hugh Boyd was now to maintain a wife and family, as well as he could, by whatever means. " Towards the latter end of the year 1768, we are " told, Mr. Boyd, who, at that period resided in " Great Marlborough-street, began to be extremely sedulous, in collecting political information of " every kind; and being in habits of confidential " intimacy with the late Mr. Laughlin Maclane, " as well as some other political characters, he was " enabled to obtain very early and accurate intelligence of all ministerial proceedings."† Yet, he, who had read newspapers, at Dublin, from 1761 to 1765, with the intellect, and memory, of H. Boyd; he, who had read political papers, at London, from 1766 to 1768, and attended both Houses of Parliament, with his readiness of apprehension, and tenacity of recollection; he, who had lived, in the familiar habits of relationship, with the late Serjeant Adair, from 1765 to 1769; had not to

* Pref. to the Indian Observer, xvi.—It was, in consequence of the will of his maternal grandfather, that he changed his name to Boyd. Upon inquiry at the Secretary of State's office, and at the College of Arms, I learned, that Hugh Mac Aulay never obtained the King's license, for changing his name. I merely state the fact. In England, persons of greater consequence sometimes neglect this useful form. In Ireland, it is never attended to.

† The Editor's letter of the 4th of August last. [Morn. Chron.]

begin

begin the study of politics, in 1768. H. Boyd certainly published, during that period, some essays, under various signatures, which were a sort of intellectual exercises, that were much in practice, at that feverish period, among the best educated of the Irish Templars, who thronged the bar of the House of Lords, and the gallery of the House of Commons, more than Westminster Hall.* It is, therefore, in vain to talk, in the face of facts, of the commencement of Boyd's political studies, in 1768. A strong cause is never so effectually betrayed, as by the offer of weak arguments to support it. If I might assume, for a moment, that Boyd was the writer of Junius's Letters, I could easily show how he was employed in 1769,† in 1770,‡ and in 1771.§

* From the information of my well informed correspondent of the Irish bar, at Dublin. Boyd said, in his *Junius*, that he had written so many trifles, at that period, that he did not remember the names of them.

† The first letter of Junius was dated on the 29th of January, 1769; which was followed, in the same year, by thirty letters, under the signatures of Junius, and Philo-Junius, "besides the "numberless trifles, which he had written, without being able to "recal them to his memory." [Gen. edit. ii. 230.] In April, 1769, he assumed the name of Boyd, under his grandfather's will; and at the same time, went to Ireland to take possession of an estate, under the same settlement; Hugh Boyd, the heir, in possession, having died, in December, 1768.

‡ He wrote only six letters, in 1770, if we may judge, from what he republished, in his genuine edition; having ceased to print, under his usual signatures, during the prosecutions of his printers and booksellers.

§ In 1771, he published five and twenty letters; and a very long letter to Lord M. on the 22d of January 1772, under his usual signatures.

Junius

Junius ceased to write, under that signature, in January, 1772; he having retired from London, in the year before. The place of his retirement was Ruston-Green, near Harrow. In this retirement, he found leisure to regret the past, and to provide for the future. From that place, he used frequently to walk to town, and to return the same day; for the purpose, no doubt, of providing for his family; of collecting intelligence; and of conveying his writings to the press.

Distress is seldom stationary: and Boyd returned, with his family, to London, probably in 1775: He now lodged in Poland-street, at Guibert's, a hair-dresser; as Mr. George Dempster informed me, in his letter of the 24th of March, 1800: Mr. Dempster lodged, at the time, in the same house. At that epoch of his life, Boyd engaged in a very arduous task, when he undertook to persuade the world, that Robert and Daniel Perreau were innocent of the felonious charge of forging the bond of William Adair, with design to defraud Robert, and Henry Drummond.* The forgery was detected in March, 1775: bills of indictment were found against them, on the 25th of April. They were tried, not long after; when Robert Perreau read a defence, of uncommon art and ability, elegance and pathos, which very much affected those, who were, nevertheless, constrained, by the evidence, to find him guilty. Daniel Perreau was also

* I remember, very well, says Mr. C. B[utler] the infinite "pains "he took to persuade the world that the Perreaus were innocent." [Anti-Jacobin Rev. for July, 1799, p. 349.]

found

found guilty. Notwithstanding every endeavour to save them, they were both executed, on the 17th of January, 1776.*

What Boyd's connections were, with those noted swindlers, I am unable to tell; he was, probably, paid, like a lawyer, for defending them; but, it follows, as an inference from the fact, that he was then known, as an able man, with a powerful pen. He immediately quitted London, after their fates were decided; and he appeared, in the county of Antrim, where he had family-connections, and an estate. Whatever carried him thither, his attention was at once drawn, by the sound of an election, for the same Shire, in pursuance of the parliamentary limitation, for which his father had

* Gent. Mag. 1775, p. 148, 205, 279, 289. Coupling the fact, *that Boyd took infinite pains to persuade the world of the Perreaus' innocence*, with the uncommon force of Robert Perreau's defence, I am led to believe, that this elaborate argument was written, by the eloquent pen of Boyd. Take the two first paragraphs, as examples: "My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Jury; If I had been "wanting in that fortitude, which is the result of innocence, or "had found any hesitation, in submitting my proceedings to the "strictest scrutiny, I need not, at this day, have stood before my "country, or set my life upon the issue of a legal trial. Supported by the consciousness of my integrity, I have forced that "transaction to light, which might else have been suppressed; "and I have voluntarily sought that imprisonment, which guilt "never invites, and even innocence has been known to fly from; "ardently looking forward to this hour, as the sure, though painful means, of vindicating a character, not distinguished indeed "for its importance, but hitherto maintained, without a blemish." [See the whole of this very able defence in the Gent. Mag. 1775. p. 280—83.]

written.

written. Assuming the familiar appellation of a *Freeholder*, he addressed a dozen letters to the independent electors of Antrim; in order to gain their votes, for "a CONSTITUTIONAL CANDIDATE." His first letter was dated the 5th of February, 1776. It was one James Wilson, an obscure person, who was thus supported by Boyd, against all the aristocratic, and leading, interests of that considerable shire.* "These letters," says my intelligent correspondent at Dublin, "are know to have con-"tributed to the raising of that wild clamour, "which carried Wilson's election by an enthusias-"tic blast of momentary madness." Yet, whatever engagements were required, by the patriotic electors, or promises were made, by the *constitutional candidate*, they were soon exposed, by parliamentary experience: In two, or three sessions, Wilson's *patriotism* was softened into compliance, by a place, in the revenue, of two, or three hundred pounds a year; which, for aught that appears, he enjoys to this day. There are so many examples of patriotic tergiversation, that this example was not wanted, to teach moderation to the vehement, at popular elections, and circumspection to the credulous.

The mind of our *Freeholder* of *Antrim* is strongly impregnated with the very essence of *Junius:* He

* The other candidates were, the Honourable Henry Seymour Conway, the Honourable Hugh Skeffington, and John O'Neil. The last, who represented, as his name implies, the ancient kings of the *Ultonian Regions*, declined the contest: This is the same Lord O'Neil, who was, lately, slain by the Antrim rebels.

has

has his flowery style, his dexterous sophistry, and his anarchical violence. The principle, and indeed, the pen, of the mysterious *Junius* are discernible, by an attentive eye, in the preface, and, I was going to say, in every paragraph, of our Freeholder.*

The

* *Junius* begins his dedication to the *English nation*, by saying, "I dedicate to you a collection of letters written by *one of your-* "*selves*:" The *Freeholder* says, in his *first* letter, "It is indispen- "sably yours; for, 'the fee simple is in us:' Permit, therefore, "*one of yourselves*, to submit his thoughts." Not only are the expressions transferred, from *Junius* to the *Freeholder*, but the topics of both are exactly the same: In both, the writer is studious to insult Scotland, and the Scots: In both, he speaks contemptuously of the *pedant*, James: In both, he talks indignantly of the *Scotch historian* [Hume.] He delights, in both, to ridicule the *blushing* Rigby. In *Junius*, he reviles Mr. Horne, as a solitary *monk*; In the *Freeholder*, he reviles Dean Tucker, as the *priest* of Gloster: How, he had his education among *monks* and *priests*. Junius insisted on the constitutional right to the *pressing of seamen*. [Lett. ix.). The Freeholder equally repeats the same doctrine "of the "King's right to press a particular description of his subjects into "the sea service." [Pref. xii.] Junius recommends to the English nation the example of the city of London, [Lett. xxxvii.]: The Freeholder recommends to the electors of Antrim the example of the city of London. [Let. xi.] In *Junius*, he says, "the people "of Ireland have been, uniformly, plundered and oppressed." In the Freeholder, he insists, "The spirit of despotism is gone forth; "oppression her object, devastation her means, famine, sword, and "fire, her instruments." [Pref. x.] Junius is the patron of the *colonies*: In the *Freeholder*, the same writer is their *apologist*. [Pref. xi.] The author transplants his own *flowers*, delicate as they are, from his *Junius* to his *Freeholder*: Junius begins his Lett. lxix, by saying, "I turn with pleasure from that barren "waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, *no verdure quickens*, "to a character fertile, &c.:" The Freeholder concludes his 5th letter, by saying, "Long enough have our eyes ached over this

"barren

The first letter of the Freeholder is dated on the 5th of February; and the last, on the 9th of April, 1776. His first *motto* is the well known Jacobinical principle of *Junius:* "They are the trustees, not "owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in us." Theobald Wolfe Tone could not have gone beyond this! The Freeholder sets out, in the following manner: "The great writer, whose words I have "placed at the head of my paper, is justly acknow- "ledged to excel, in splendour of imagery, and in "strength of diction. But his excellence extends "to points still more important. No writer has "investigated with such sagacity, nor with such "clearness pointed out, the true nature of our ad- "mirable constitution. The wisdom, and learning "of Locke had ascertained some great fundamental "maxims, which constituted or at least contributed "to form the basis of our liberties. But, it re- "mained for the succeeding address, and eloquence "of *Junius*, to encounter and to subdue, at least, "in the fields of argument, the more refined cor- "ruptions of latter times." Here, then, is the fa- ther fondling his child, in a place, where he sup- posed himself to be unknown, and at a time, when

"barren prospect, where *no verdure of virtue quickens*, no public "service is seen to blossom." Junius had the policy to be *the depositary of his own secret*, which he resolved should *perish with him:* The Freeholder had the policy to preserve his own secret; saying "My name is unknown, and I hope it will remain so." [Lett. 1st.) Such are the coincidences, between *Junius* and the *Antrim Freeholder*, which will convince all those, who read for information, that the same energetic, and elegant, pen wrote both.

the

the filiation could not, easily, be suspected. The *Antrim Freeholder* was, actually, called, throughout the ample circulation of the Belfast newspapers, a *second Junius*. To this honourable distinction, our *Freeholder* was well entitled. Of the *splendour of imagery, and strength of diction*, which are so, emphatically, claimed by the son, for the father, there is nothing more striking, nor more appropriate, in the *real Junius*, than the subjoined paragraph, from the *first Freeholder:* "We are no longer sunk "in the dead repose of despotism, and long parlia- "ments. Those stagnations of corruption and filth, "shall no more poison the land." "'Alba nautis "stella refulsit.' The returning day-star of the "constitution again illuminates the political hemi- "sphere; and, in fulness of splendour, displays the "glorious moment, which restores to us our original "rights. The power, which we delegated, and the "trust, which we conferred, revert to us. The con- "stitution regenerates. And the new birth inspires "new vigour. As the giant received renovation of "strength, from touching his mother earth, so the "rights of the people acquire new spring and force, "when brought back to their original, and parent- "source, the people's voice."—The Freeholder's Letters, which are thus remarkable, for their artifice, their elegance, and their energy, were soon republished, at Belfast, by Wilson's committee, in a small pamphlet, which is without the names of the bookseller, and the printer.*

* I have now, in my possession, a copy of it, which was printed, in 1776, by M. Mills, No. 135, Capel street, Dublin.

From Belfast, our patriotic Freeholder went to Dublin, where he was called to the bar, in Easter-term, 1776, by the name of Hugh Boyd.* We may hereby see how facts confirm each other: The fact, that Hugh Boyd wrote the *Freeholder*, at Belfast, in February, and March, 1776, goes to prove, that the same Hugh Boyd was called to the bar, at Dublin, in Easter-term, 1776: and, the fact, that Hugh Boyd was then, and there, called to the bar, strongly, corroborates, by its coincidence, that Hugh Boyd wrote the *Antrim Freeholder*. His embarrassments forced him to put on the gown, while his dissipation induced him to cast it off, as an incumbrance to his pursuits: and, he soon returned to London, which had attractions for him, that were too powerful, for his interest, and too seductive for his happiness. We have, in Boyd, the example of a man, who, with every material quality in him of a great lawyer, facility of apprehension, strength of intellect, retentiveness of memory, confidence of address, could only busy himself, in writing anarchical essays, although he was goaded by distress.

We may, naturally, suppose, that Boyd returned from Dublin, to his old haunts, and habits, in London. How he was employed, in 1777, and 1778, I have learned from various sources. "When

* Wilson's Dublin Directory, p. 117: This fact is certain: as I have been assured, by two very eminent members of the Irish bar. He could not have been thus called to the bar, at Dublin, said Lord Macartney, if he had not been entered, in one of the four Inns of Court, and observed his terms, and commons here.

"Lauchlan

"Lauchlan M'Leane, says VERAX,* came over from "the Nabob of Arcot, to serve his interest, in the "India-house, Mr. John Stewart introduced him "to Boyd. They dined together at the Shakspeare "Tavern; and I was of the party, till one in the "morning, when they went upon business; and I "departed. They sat together the whole night; "and Mr. Boyd was retained to write, in favour of "the Nabob's case, and published a pamphlet; and "wrote in support of it in the Gazetteer." The fact, however, is, that Boyd became early acquainted with his countryman M'Leane; and, it is in evidence, that Boyd wrote, in support of the Nabob's pretensions, in the *Public Advertiser*. He did much more for the Nabob. Every one must remember what debates ensued, at the India-house, when news arrived of the revolution, at Madras, which was occasioned, by the arrest of Lord Pigot, in pursuance of orders, from the majority of the Council. At a Court of Proprietors, on the 7th of May, 1777, a motion was made, by Sir Herbert Mackworth, to recal Lord Pigot, together with the whole council; "in order to have their respective "conduct more effectually inquired into." Whereupon, "Mr. BOYD, Mr. Redhead, and Mr. MAC "LEANE, alleged, that Mr. Rous had, without any "foundation, made the Nabob a party, in the "question."† But, was this our Hugh Boyd? Yes: the fact may be proved, by record evidence,

* *True Briton*, 19th Dec. 1799.

† Scots Mag. 1777, p. 267.

that, on the 22d of April, 1777, £500 India stock were transferred to Hugh Boyd, Esq. of Norfolk-street, in the Strand, by John Dawes; and was re-transferred, in May, and July, of the same year, after Macleane had sailed for India.

Boyd not only spoke, but wrote, for the Nabob, in the newspapers, and in pamphlets. During March, 1777, the Directors of the India Company appear to have been greatly affected, by those publications: and, they published, in the London Gazette of the 29th of March, an advertisement against two pamphlets; because "they conceived "the abuse therein to be unparalleled, the design "to be extremely dangerous, and the object of "the author to be the depreciation of the Com-"pany." This notice was, immediately, encountered, by an advertisement, from Lauchlan M'Leane, the Nabob's agent, who avowed the two reprobated pamphlets; "having furnished all the ma-"terials, of which they are composed:" and, he undertook to defend them, at the hazard of his fame.* Boyd, certainly, returned to Dublin, in December,

* See the whole proceedings, in the Scots Magazine, 1777, p. 219—20. The two pamphlets, which were thus complained of as *abusive*, *insidious*, and *dangerous*, were entitled; 1. "Letter "from Mahomed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of "Directors." 2. "Original Papers relative to Tanjore." After a careful examination of these two Tracts, I think, that they were both written by Boyd, from the documents, which had been furnished by M'Leane. The *state of facts*, which was annexed to this Letter, was plainly drawn, by the vigorous, but inaccurate, hand of Boyd. The *Introduction* to *the Tanjore papers* is still more

December, 1777, on account of his chancery suit, concerning his Antrim estates.*

From

more obviously the elegant, and energetic, work of Boyd. The following passage is copied almost verbatim from his *Antrim Letters*: "Tyranny, cruelty, oppression, laid waste the country "without; riot, debauchery, and every species of vice, reigned "within the palace." [p. xiii.] This tract, consisting of 134 pages, was sold, on the 12th of December, 1796, by Leigh and Sotheby, at the sale of W. Gerald Hamilton's books, for *two-pence*. The Letter, from the Nabob, was sold, at the same time, for the same price. Neither of these pamphlets seem to have been read by W. G. Hamilton; as the sheets, whereof they consisted, had not been cut open, when they came to my hands. There was another pamphlet, which appeared, at the same time, from the same source, entitled, "Original Papers, transmitted by the "Nabob of Arcot to Great Britain;" and which was, obviously, the compilation of *Boyd*, from the instructions of *M'Leane*.

The *authenticity* of those pamphlets, M'Leane, the well-known agent of the Nabob, undertook by public advertisement to assert, under the penalty "of having his *name consigned to disgrace* and "*infamy*." M'Leane did not live to pay the forfeiture of *his name*: for, he sailed for India, in 1777, and was heard of never more.

The task of confuting the conjoint pamphlets of M'Leane, and Boyd, was assigned by the India Directors to Mr. George Rous, under the superintendance of a Committee. After a while, he produced three huge, quarto volumes of such curious, and authentic, documents, as to reduce the value of the said pamphlets *to two-pence*, a-piece: he entered, indeed, into no reciprocation of smartness: but, such is the difference, between *truth*, however simple, and *declamation*, however splendid!

* On the 6th of December, 1777, he wrote to one of his best friends, from Holyhead: "Dear Sir. Here I am;—and I much "fear, likely to be for a day, or two, longer.—For, the wind is "most ill-naturedly in the teeth of the harbour. But, it is to be "hoped, it will not be inexorable; and, that it will soon veer

From the difficult task of defending the pretensions of the Nabob, it required little of the dexterity of Boyd, to engage in the still harder task of vindicating the conduct of the four counsellors, Stratton, Brooke, Floyer and Mackay, who had overturned the administration of Lord Pigot. He scribbled for them, chiefly, in the newspapers; and, they, in return, gave, and lent, him money. In pursuance of an address from the House of Commons, the four Counsellors were tried, for the before-mentioned misdemeanour, in the court of King's Bench, on the 20th of December, 1779: and, being found guilty, though the evidence did not support the inference, which was drawn, by the information, they were each of them sentenced to pay a thousand pounds.*

In 1779, Boyd published, in a pamphlet, "Genuine Abstracts, from two Speeches of the "late Earl of Chatham, with some introductory "Observations, and Notes." In these, may be seen the same sentiments, and language, as an attentive reader would perceive, in his *Antrim Letters*, and in his *Junius*. Some of the same sentiments, I have seen, in his private Letters.

Meantime, he certainly commenced to write seditious papers, which he began, in November,

"about for us:—I wish Æolus were a patriot; and there might "be then speedy hopes of his *turning*; you know, I mean only "the court patriots; the pye-ball ornaments of the treasury "bench, &c. and none on the side of the House, where Sir G. S. "sits. Your's very sincerely, HUGH BOYD."

* An. Reg. 1779, p. 316: Scots Mag. 1780 p. 102—3.

1779,

1779, and ended in March, 1780, as we learn, from Almon; the *London Courant* was the vehicle of those papers, entitled, *The* WHIG. He who reads *The Whig*, with attention, will, easily, perceive the pen of *Junius*, and the spirit of the *Freeholder*: he will see in *the Whig* the same principles of anarchy, the same topicks of turbulence, the same dexterities of sophistry, and the same peculiarities of style; its inaccuracies, its figures, its declamation, and its vigour.* Yet, *the*

* Take as an example, from Almon's An. 3. p. 24, the following passage, at a venture: "The Septennial act of suicide, abhorrent certainly from the popular nature of parliament, and destructive of its due independence, on the crown, had been long perpetrated. Military power and civil influence united to enable the prince, if he were disposed by nature or education, to oppress and corrupt the people, whose property and power was [were] lessened, exactly in the proportion that the crown had gained weight and force, by the establishment of a standing army and a national debt. But, above all, the time of his ascension to the throne was full of such peculiar circumstances of popularity, as gave him unlimited, because unsuspected, power. Into that auspicious moment was crowded all the promise of his youth; founded in the fond memory of all the virtues of his ancestors; of his youth, rising, as it seemed, to renew the race of glory that they had run, even up to the recent goal of universal conquest. Nature and fortune conspired to give the young monarch of that day an empire the best and most permanent that monarchs can enjoy, if they wish to maintain it, an absolute power in the hearts of his subjects. Such *was* [were] the power *and* the opportunity of exercising it, with which his present Majesty ascended the throne. If it had been the counsel of his reign to improve it into the perfect and reciprocal happiness of himself and his people, the way was not steep nor difficult."

Whig did not elevate, and surprize, like *Junius*. There was no Sir Wm. Draper, says Almon, to write *the Whig* into notice. The truth, however, is, that *Junius* was, at once, *political*, and *personal*; *the Whig* was, chiefly, *political*. The nation, which had been stunned, with the reiterated charges of *Junius*, was, at length, tired of turbulence, and now began to loath licentiousness.

We at present know, why Boyd gave up *the Whig*, in March, 1780. After writing, for Sir William Howe, in the newspapers, during 1779, Boyd was employed, by Captain Mackenzie, Sir William's secretary, by means of John Stewart of Hampstead, to write, in 1780, a defence of the General's conduct, in the form of *a Narrative*. This work seems to have been published, in September, 1780. It was, therefore, remarked, by the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, "that Sir W. Howe seems "to have been, as dilatory in repelling the attack "on him, at home, [by *the Letters to a Nobleman*] "as he was, in attacking the common enemy "abroad."* I have been assured, by a very intimate friend of Boyd, that Mackenzie, and Stewart, took away Boyd's shoes, in order to keep him in the house; knowing his idle habits. The same friend assured me, that Boyd seldom wrote, in the day-time, but in the dead of night, from one till two, in the morning; such was his dissipation: we may see examples enow of his midnight writing, in the careless passages of his *far-famed Junius*. He knew, that he could write, with great facility;

* Gent. Mag. 1780, p. 531.

and

and never took up his pen, till he could not any longer postpone what necessity demanded.

At length, a new prospect opened on Boyd, who now turned his eyes, and his efforts, from the seditiousness of the West, to the opulence of the East. By the influence of "Mr. Laurence Sulli-"van, who so often filled the chair at the India-"house," *our Whig* was allowed to go out to Madras, "in Lord Macartney's suite,"* although not *as a covenanted servant* of the Company. Neither he, who asked, nor they, who granted, this permission, were probably conscious how much service they did to *the state*, when they permitted the emigration of a political writer of active exertions, and powerful energy. Whether he had written *Junius*, the *Antrim Freeholder*, or *the Whig*, having never inquired, they did not know. Amid his preparations for departure, with few fears, and many hopes, our emigrant *destroyed all his political papers.* He went out in the same packet with Lord Macartney.

Boyd arrived at Madras on the 22d of June, 1781. He now "devoted his leisure hours very "sedulously to the study of Oriental politics."† The time soon arrived, when his talents of insinuation, and address, and his knowledge of *oriental politics*, were brought into action. In January, 1782, he arrived with Sir Edward Hughes, on board the *Superb*, at Trincomalee. The fort was hardly taken, when he was dispatched on an em-

* Life of Boyd, 7—8. † Id.

bassy

bassy to the *King* of CANDY. He was not successful, as a negociator. At the end of two months, he returned to Trincomalee, where he unluckily hired a small vessel to carry him to Madras. He was taken by the French fleet, under Suffrein, and sent to the Mauritius; from which place he was transferred to the Isle of Bourbon. Here his captivity was alleviated by the hospitality of the governor; and, after a while, he was, by the liberality of the same officer, allowed to return, on his *parole*, to Madras. He now thought, that his services, and misfortunes, entitled him to some office, which might compensate him for both. But, out of nothing nothing comes; and, as there was no vacancy, he could have no place. His disappointment drove him to Calcutta, where, he, no doubt, hoped to court fortune, in a more propitious mood. In this gay scene, his social disposition was welcomed by hospitality, which was, in return, enlivened "by the superlative sprightli-" ness of his convivial qualities."* In the mean time, he was appointed, jointly, with Mr. Corbit, *master attendant* at Madras; an office of some profit, but of little dignity; and which required his personal presence, where it was to be executed.†

The duties of this office "were neither con-

* Life of Boyd, p. 15.

† Id.—Such, I was told, at the India-house, is the nature of the *master attendant*'s office, which, since that period, has been rented at four thousand pounds a year. In the end, he enjoyed this office, without the participation of Mr. Corbit: but, without making any remittances.

"genial

" genial to the delicacy of his mind, nor his habits " of life," says his biographer; " but as the emo- " luments were great, he resolved to sacrifice a " little sensibility, for the prospect of ultimate " wealth." His old habits, in the mean time, induced him, to return to his early practices: and, during the Mysore war, he conducted a news-paper, entitled *The Courier*.*

It was, in June, 1793, that he first conceived the idea of publishing *periodical essays*: it was in August, 1793, that he first made known to the public his plan for the *Indian Observer*, which he resolved to publish, through the commodious channel of a weekly news-paper: and, the first number of this paper, which he intitled *The Hircarrah*, came out on the 9th of September, 1793. For these essays, he appears to have been "honoured " with the sanction of the higher powers, and " favoured with the indulgence of the [Indian] " public." What Johnson said of *the Connoisseur*, and *the World*, that *they wanted matter*, may be properly applied to *the Indian Observer*: but, the

* Id. p. 16.—I will here subjoin a note, which I have received, from an intelligent friend, with regard to the management of Boyd, as the conductor of *the Courier*: " It is notorious, that " the late Hugh Boyd was proprietor, editor, and sole conductor " of the *Madras Courier*; that his paper was engaged in many " important contests, both for, and against, the government of " Madras, and Bengal: if Hugh Boyd was the author of *Junius*, " his language may be easily discovered in the *Madras Courier*; " where, at various times, he was placed in a situation, which " called for the utmost exertion of all his abilities: for, *he always* " *liked to fish in troubled waters.*"

Indian

Indian Observer is superior to both in vigour and elegance.* The power and pride of *Junius* were his *figures*. The *Indian Observer* too has his *imagery*. This imagery was favourably received, and usefully felt at Madras: before the publication of the second *Observer*, a hundred subscribers were added to the list of encouragers.

* The *motto* of the *Indian Observer*'s first number is from *the Rambler*, on *the difficulty of the first address*. "If such be the acknowledgement of a great master, who, to extraordinary force of mind, united the ample stores of learning and knowledge, and with a strength of style peculiarly his own, presented more subjects to the public eye than perhaps any other author; what must be the feelings of the common class of writers?—and, if merely the first address involve so much difficulty, how formidable must be the undertaking, to repeat, at stated periods, certain *quantums* of composition; to bind fancy down to punctuality; and to present to the public attention, a periodical essay? How arduous ought the attempt to appear, if they knew themselves, to those whose literary ambition must be conscious of much unstudious avocation; who have omitted to supply by observation, or even late inquiry, what perhaps was early neglected in study, or denied in genius; to those, in fine, whose experience is so limited, both of themselves and the public, that they think they can write, and hope they will be read. It may be remarked, that these difficulties are more felt by the veteran than the young adventurer; that forward zeal will rush, where caution would tremble to tread; and that the superficial judge boldly plunges into his sea of troubles; fearless, because ignorant, of the dangers of the literary deep. Although not wholly in the latter description, of absolute inexperience, the present writer is well aware of his distance from the former. He regards, with a most respectful eye, the interval between his humble essay, and the excellence of periodical publication, which, for an Augustan century, has been the ornament, and instruction of his country."

The

The Indian Observer went the length of fifty-three numbers, and was closed, on the 16th of September, 1794. It was, indeed, time to finish it: for, in the fiftieth number of the 19th August, 1794, appeared the cloven feet of Boyd, *Junius*, and *the Whig*; the blunder of the one; the inaccuracy of the other; and the seditiousness of all: "An observer of the great events of the world," says the *Indian Observer*, "must be more struck with "the extraordinary contest, which agitates not only "the nations of Europe, but extends its commotion to the other quarters of the globe, than "with any scene presented in the annals of history; whether it be considered, as to its consequences, or in its principles. In the consequences, are [is] involved the happiness of "mankind; the *sacred principles* by *which it is* "*actuated*, are *liberty* and the *rights of man*." The *Indian Observer* had properly engaged, that "*this paper* should *not mix* in political questions:" yet, Boyd, with his usual spirit, introduced, on the scene, the *rights of man*; his ungrammatical substitution of *are* for *is* may be considered, as characteristic of *his Junius*; and his exhibition of the French revolution, with its "*sacred principles*," to the servants of the India company, was altogether worthy of *his Whig*.

The foregoing sentiments of *The Indian Observer* were introductory to "The *speech* of GALGACUS, to his army on *the Grampian hills*," from Murphy's *Translation* of *Tacitus*. That either Boyd, or Murphy, should have considered the declamation

clamation of Tacitus as the speech of *Galgac*, the Caledonian chief, is a proof how much the most vigorous minds may be warped by prejudice. Yes: the speech of Galgac had been printed by *Raban*, who had introduced printing at Aberdeen, a town, which lay in the rear of the Caledonian army; and the speech, thus printed, in the Caledonian language, was dispersed among the Caledonian tribes, in the true French mode, to inflame them with a love of French liberty, and to encourage them to defend *the rights of man*, which were vastly well understood, in that age. Whether that celebrated oration were delivered in the *British*, or in the *Erse* language, we are not told: But it must have been transmitted, in whatever language, by Agricola, and translated, no doubt, by Tacitus. The re-translation of Tacitus's *Libertates* into Pain's *Rights of Man*, was deemed very free by Murphy; and the recommendation of French politics, and French principles, in the most engaging manner, to the servants of the India Company, as *British sentiments*, in *British expression*, was perfectly congenial to *Junius*.*

This

* I have before me the original edition of *the Observer*, as it was collected, and printed at Calcutta, by Joseph Cooper, 1795. The Observer, as published at London in 1800, was garbled, owing to whatever cause. In the original edition, No. XXI., I see, that there were published some previous remarks on the *French Revolution*, which were drawn from "the sublime compre-"hension of that penetrating genius, Mr. Burke;" and which were followed by the republication of "the sublime eloquence of the "late Lord Chatham, against employing the American Indians, in "the

This extraordinary man finished his devious career on the 19th of October, 1794, at Madras, in the most embarrassed circumstances, after having been abandoned, by some few of his friends.* The character of Boyd must be settled, from a consideration of the great outlines of his *life*, and from the strong evidence of his undoubted publications, rather than from the frivolous declamation of biographical fondness.† On his death-bed, Boyd wrote the

"the American war." Here, then, were specimens of *sublime eloquence* against *sublime eloquence*; so that little is gained, in discovering the genuine opinions of Boyd, on *the French Revolution*. But he came out, in his proper character, in No. L. of *the Observer*, as I have quoted him above.

* Life of Boyd, p. 15.

† I will, however, subjoin the following outline of the character of Boyd, which has been transmitted to me, by a very eminent Member of the Irish bar, who long resided at Dublin [the late Sir William Duncan]; and who appears to have known this extraordinary person from his cradle to his grave; although my intelligent correspondent seems to give a somewhat different point to the subject from mine:—"I knew Mr. Boyd from his early "life; but the difference in our ages rendered, for several years, "our intimacy not so perfect, as it afterwards became. I had "quitted school, the university, and the temple, successively, "before him; so that, from my own knowledge, I cannot say "any thing of his studies or attainments; but I have always un-"derstood, that he distinguished himself over most of his con-"temporaries: He was a very good Greek and Latin scholar, "and was well acquainted with different branches of the mathe-"matics. He did not, as I believe, study our laws, with a view "to the profession: he was, it is true, called to the *Irish* bar, "but did not continue to practise there: he was never at the "*English* bar. He was fond of what is called polite literature, "and excelled in it. He was not much attached to other studies.

"Excepting

the following verses, which he repeated to the friends, who remained with him:—

" Excepting a periodical paper, which he published at Madras, " under the title of *The Indian Observer*, and some light poetical " essays, of which I have no copies, I was not acquainted with " any of his productions, in prose or verse; and I am much in- " clined to believe, he did not engage in any serious work, in " either: I was in the habits of intimate correspondence with " him, for many years, before his death, and I never had any " reason to think he did. He had very pleasing manners; and " though he often took the lead in conversation, it was generally " with the consent of the company. He was fond of argument, " but never overbearing: he excelled in lively sallies, but scarce " ever introduced serious subjects, moral or political: his ta- " lents and attainments did not seem to lead him to either. He " first came to Madras as assistant secretary: Sir George Staun- " ton was secretary to Lord Macartney. Soon after his arrival " there he was sent to Ceylon, on some negociation, with the " king of Candy; the particulars of this have never been publish- " ed. His papers, it is said, were lost, when, on his attempting " to return to Madras, he was taken by a French frigate, and car- " ried to Mauritius: He did, however, return to Madras, before " Lord Macartney quitted that government; and was by him ap- " pointed to a very lucrative employment, *joint master attendant* " with a Mr. Corbitt: He afterwards became sole master at- " tendant, and enjoyed the office until his death. His being at " Calcutta was only to pay occasional visits to his friend, Sir " John Macpherson. On the particular subject, which, from " our friend's letter, I learn you mean to investigate, I can give " no particular information: That Mr. Boyd was not the author " of Junius, I will not presume to assert, but from comparing the " time those celebrated letters were written with the time he " came to England, it will appear very extraordinary, that he " could have obtained so much, and so various, knowledge of the " political drama, there exhibited, and of the *dramatis personæ*, " as are there displayed."

In

In life's gay flow, when all obey
The sprightly notes of pleasure's call;
Can then the faithful mirror say
I show a gift original?
In scenes of power, of pomp, of place,
Where proud ambition's vot'ries bow:
Can there the mirror's shining face,
Of life a true resemblance show?
No! 'tis not where ambition's hand
Sweeps o'er the polish roughly warm;
Nor where keen pleasure's sighs demand
Her flatt'ring images to form.
'Tis there, where with reflection's aid,
And purified by pain;
Man contemplates his sickly bed;
The mirror then shines plain!

The reflections, with which Johnson closed the life of Savage, were not only more pertinent to the occasion, but more useful, in the practical scenes of a devious world: These intimations will not be wholly without their use: "If those who, in con-" fidence of superior capacities, or attainments, " disregard the maxims of life, shall be reminded, " that nothing will supply the want of prudence, " and that negligence, and irregularity, long con-" tinued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridicu-" lous, and genius contemptible." These salutary reflections of our great moralist are less applicable to Savage, than to Boyd, who had a liberal education, an honourable profession, and some provision of fortune, which were all thrown behind him, by a life of dissipation, and practice of seditiousness. He left a widow, a woman of accomplishments, who delights in books, and two children, a son and a daughter. The son, who was born after his father's

 departure

departure to the East, possesses some of his genius, with greater application; and has produced a tragedy, and extracts from the Greek fathers.

I will now proceed to prove affirmatively, who did write *Junius*'s Letters. Some readers may, perhaps, be already satisfied, that my original judgment, on this subject, was right. There are other persons, however, who will not easily be persuaded, to adopt a truth, which can only be established, by circumstantial proofs, though the ablest judges regard the evidence, arising from a concatenation of circumstances, as the strongest, that a thousand cases of daily occurrence admit of; as human testimony is so extremely fallible.

"It was, in January, 1769," says Johnson, "that *Junius* burst into notice, with a blaze of impudence, which has rarely glared upon the world before; and drew the rabble after him, as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety, by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat, but truth, and justice: enemies, whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has had the art of persuading, when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those, who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught, that virtue may disgrace, and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean, by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding

the

the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract, from his wit, the vivacity of his insolence, and withdraw, from his efficacy, the sympathetic fervour of plebeian malignity—I do not say, that we shall leave him nothing; the cause that I defend, scorns the help of falsehood; but, if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise?

"It is not, by the liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusion, that he detains the cits of London, and the boors of Middlesex. Of style and sentiment, they take no cognizance. They admire him for virtues, like their own; for contempt of order, and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation, and audacity of falsehood. The supporters of the Bill of Rights feel no nicety of composition, nor dexterity of sophistry; their faculties are better proportioned to the bawl of Bellas, or barbarity of Beckford; but, they are told, that Junius is on their side; and they are, therefore, sure that Junius is infallible. Those, who know not, whither he would lead them, resolve to follow him; and those, who cannot find his meaning, hope he means rebellion.

"Junius is an unusual phænomenon, on which some have gazed, with wonder, and some with terror; but wonder, and terror, are transitory passions: He will soon be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined; and what Folly has taken for a comet, that from its flaming hair shook pestilence, and war, inquiry will find, to be only a meteor, formed by the vapours of putrifying de-

mocracy, and kindled into flame, by the effervescence of interest, struggling with conviction, which, after having plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us inquiring, why we regarded it.

"Yet, though I cannot think the style of Junius secure from criticism; though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him, where he has placed himself, had I not rated him, by his morals, rather than his faculties. 'What,' says Pope, 'must be the priest, where a monkey is the god?' What must be the drudge of a party, of which the heads are Wilkes, and Crosby, Sawbridge, and Townsend?"

Thus far Johnson! JUNIUS, in his anecdotes of Burke, had spoken of Johnson, as the *flagitious* author of an *infamous* pamphlet, entitled *The False Alarm.* Little did the youthful writer of *Junius* foresee, that he would provoke the deadly ire of the Lybian lion. We have thus seen how *Junius* roused him from his den: *Junius* heard his roar; and of *Johnson,* or the *Faukland isles,* never uttered more.* To regard, in the same glance, the gigantic writer of the *Faukland islands,* with the author of *Junius,* what can discernment perceive, but the contrast of a Patagonian with a Pygmy?

* Johnson's work was published in March, 1771. On the 30th of January preceding, No. 42 of *Junius,* on *Faukland Islands,* appeared. On the 7th of February, 1771, appeared No. 43, from *Philo-Junius,* on the same subject. No. 44, of *Junius,* appeared on the 22d of April, when he complained of *being disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary,* by every party in the kingdom: but, not a syllable of Johnson, or the Faukland Isles.

The

The silence of *Junius* acknowledged the superiority of Johnson. He felt his inferiority, and his feebleness, in the presence of an author, who could, with so much facility, introduce sublimity into prose. What, indeed, must have been the principles, and the practices, the sentiment, and the style, of a party-writer, who avowed his being disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every party in the state? Yet, has it been said, by *the mob of gentlemen who write with ease*, that *Junius* is the greatest writer, that ever was, or ever will be. Can it, however, be said, with any consistency, or truth, that a writer, in the English language, can be great, can be distinguished, who could not write the vernacular tongue, in the English idiom, and with grammatical purity? The very definition of a vulgar writer is, that he cannot write, grammatically, his mother tongue; that he writes bad English, when he means to write finely; and of a youthful one, that blunder, and inaccuracy, will for ever evince, that he was an inexperienced author, who had not studied, with any attention, the grammar, and proprieties, of his own speech: his composition was, of course, false, in its figures, and inefficacious, in its points. Yes: there is one critic, who alleges, that a dozen blunders, in one epistle, does not prove a celebrated author to be an inaccurate writer. Johnson was not the first critic, who objected to the style of *Junius*, whose expressions are often trite, and his periods generally feeble. Wilkes, Gibbon, and Fox, who were so dissonant, in their principles, and politics, all con-

 curred,

curred, in thinking, slightingly, of *Junius*'s manner of writing. Is it necessary, then, in ascertaining the author of *Junius*, to find a writer of supereminent style, of dexterous disputation, and profound knowledge? We shall more readily find a *collegian*, from Trinity College, Dublin, who pretended, by a new *stile*, to instruct the English scholars; a *tyro* of Westminster-hall, who undertook, to dictate the law to the Chief Justice of England; a youth of three-and-twenty, who professed, to show the British people, that they could not be properly governed, but by the conjoint powers of Lord *Chatham*, *Wilkes*, and *Junius*.

I shall now proceed to prove, affirmatively, who did write *Junius*'s Epistles. And, my position is, that Hugh Boyd was the real author of those notorious letters. In ascertaining this mysterious point, I shall apply my proofs to *four* distinct periods of his devious publication: 1. While he was in the act of publishing his epistles; 2. When his publisher was under prosecution; 3. When he departed from Britain to India; 4. During his residence in the East Indies.

I have already shown very strong probabilities, that the writer of Junius was an Irishman: and Hugh Boyd was born, in the metropolis of Ireland. Hugh Boyd was born, in April, 1746: and, he began to publish *Junius*, in January, 1769: the whole context of his *Junius*, and *Philo-Junius*, evinces, that the author was a youthful writer: and, I have produced the instance of Chatterton, a boy much younger than Boyd, who could write, both

both poetry, and prose, as well as he, though neither of them could write an accurate, and scholar-like, English style. Boyd had distinguished himself, by a powerful mind, flowing style, and spirited productions, before he left his own country, and came to this. It was an age of youthful genius, and talents, in the schools, and in the state:

> " ——— In their years were seen
> " A youthful vigour, and autumnal green."

I will now proceed to apply my proofs to the first period proposed, viz. during the publication of those *Letters*, in the *Public Advertiser:* during that period, while the publication was going on, week after week, and day after day, during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, William Woods, the actor, was an apprentice, with the printer, Mr. H. S. Woodfall: he was an intelligent, and well-behaved youth, as he was a sensible, and discreet man, through life. His master, feeling the advantages of such an apprentice, allowed him to open the various letters, and papers, which were sent to the printer's box, to be published, in the *Public Advertiser;* and among others, *the Letters of Junius:* when my friend, Doctor Stenhouse of Edinburgh, showed Mr. Woods *the fac-simile* of Boyd's writing, at the end of my former work,* he

* Under that *fac simile*, Lord Macartney wrote: " This is very " exact."—But, we have it in evidence, that Boyd, while writing those Letters, took great pains to disguise his hand: and, I have been assured, by a friend, who knew him, perfectly, that *Boyd could*

he said, that there was such a resemblance, both in the hand, and pointing, between *Junius*'s letters, and that *fac-simile*, that he has no doubt, but one person wrote both, though his [Junius's] *letters* were, in general, *better written, when they came to the office:* and, he had other circumstances, which confirmed his belief, that *Boyd*, and *Junius*, were the same. I had this important information, in my hands, when I published my former work; but, I did not choose to introduce a public character, into a public question.* The foreman of Woodfall's press, at the time, and Burton, who was a journeyman, in the same printing house, concurred in the belief of Woods.†

The next proof, which I shall adduce, is a strong

could write all sort of hands: whence, we may infer, that comparison of hand-writing is not the strongest evidence: it may be admitted, however, as a circumstance, throughout a concatenation of circumstances.

* Dr. Alexander Stenhouse of Edinburgh wrote to me, on the 7th of July, 1800, as follows: "I have had some conversation "with Mr. Woods [the player], who at the time of Junius was an "apprentice with Woodfall, and in his master's confidence; and "opened Junius's letters, currently. He has not the smallest "hesitation, in saying, that there is such a resemblance, both in "the hand, and pointing, between those letters, and your *fac-*"*simile*, that he has no doubt, but that one person wrote both, "though his letters were, in general, better written, when they "came to the press: he has other circumstances, which confirms "his belief. Mr. Woods hesitated to put his opinion, in writing; "as he did not like to volunteer, in a controversy, which might "give offence to Woodfall." W. Woods died, at Edinburgh, on the 14th of December, 1802.

† Life of Boyd, prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works, p. 158—9.

circumstance,

circumstance, arising from an *alibi* of the author. It was at the end of 1768, that Hugh Boyd, the heir of entail of Hugh Boyd of Ballycastle, died, at Philadelphia, without issue. This event let in Hugh Mac Aulay, his grandson, the remainder man, to the estates settled on his other grandson, Hugh Boyd, who thus died, in December, 1768.* This important news reached Hugh Mac Aulay, who then lived, in London, during April, 1769. He assumed the name of Boyd, in pursuance of his grandfather's entail. And he set off, for Ireland, to take possession of his estate, immediately after the 29th of April, 1769.† From the facts, circum-

* I have taken those facts of the death of the first Hugh Boyd, and the succession of Hugh Mac Aulay, from *the Amended Answer, in Chancery*, of the last person, which time, and chance, have put into my hands.

† Junius published his first letter, on the 21st of January, 1769. Sir Wm. Draper answered it, on the 26th; and during February, and March, *Junius* was, chiefly, occupied with that antagonist: the 9th, 10th, and 11th letters of Junius were dated, on the 10th, 21st, and 24th of April, 1769. His next letter was addressed to the Duke of Grafton, at the end of five weeks, viz. on the 30th of May, 1769. Meanwhile, Sir W. Draper published another letter, which was dated, at Clifton, on the 24th of April, 1769, and which was published, at London, on the 1st of May. It may be doubted, if Boyd saw this letter, as it must have arrived, after his departure: he certainly never answered it, though Sir William spoke, contemptuously, of *his false assertions*, and talked, disdainfully, of a writer, who still skulks, in *the dark*, in *the mean subterfuge of a mask*. Boyd was, plainly, *not* in England, on the 1st of May, 1769. This last letter of Draper was published in Boyd's edition of Junius, 1771, with the anecdotes of E. Burke, as Junius: but, it was not re-published, in Woodfall's genuine edition, 1772.

stances,

stances, and dates, which are, accurately, stated, in the note below; it appears, that Boyd was then absent five weeks, from London. His letter to the Duke of Grafton on the 30th May, 1769, seems, from its whole context, as if the author of it had *resumed a subject*, which he had for *some time forgotten*. Upon the whole, it appears, from the dates of the letters, and the *alibi* of Boyd, in Ireland, on the important business, before-mentioned, that Boyd was *the writer of Junius*.

The next witness, whom I will call, is John Almon, who knew many anecdotes of many men, while he acted, as a bookseller, in Piccadilly: and, he says, "that during October, 1769, a meeting of "the proprietors of *the London Evening Post* "being held, at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's "Church-yard, Mr. Woodfall, the printer of the "Public Advertiser, was present; when there was "a conversation, concerning newspapers, and other "such topics, in the course of which something "was remarked, that caught Mr. Woodfall's at-"tention; and he immediately said, 'he had a "letter from Junius, in his pocket, which he had "just received, wherein there was a passage that "related to the subject before them; and he "would read it.' This letter consisted of three or "four sheets of foolscap; and while Mr. Woodfall "was reading one sheet, the other sheets lay on "the table; and I saw them, in common with the "company then present, but did not take them "into my hands: the moment I saw the hand-"writing, I had a strong suspicion, *that it was*

"*Mr.*

" *Mr. Boyd's, whose hand-writing I knew,* having " received several letters from him, concerning " books. I took no notice of the matter, at that " moment: but, the next time, that Mr. Boyd " called on me, (for he was in the habit of fre- " quently calling at my house, in Piccadilly,) I " said to him, that I had seen a part of one of " *Junius*'s letters, in manuscript, which, I believed, " was his hand-writing: he changed colour, in- " stantly; and after a short pause, said, the simi- " litude of hand-writing, is not a conclusive *fact* " [proof]. These were the first grounds of my " suspicion."

Almon says, secondly, that Junius always speaks handsomely of Lord Temple; praising his " firm- " ness, perseverance, patriotism, and virtue." And Almon adds, from his own knowledge, that, when- ever Mr. Boyd spoke of Lord Temple, it was, al- ways, in similar terms.

Almon says, thirdly, that during the whole time, the prosecutions were going on against the printer, and publishers of Junius's Letter to the King, *Mr. Boyd never once called upon me,* which I could not help observing; because, *before this time,* he com- monly called twice, or thrice a week; and I thought it not less remarkable, that *after the prosecution was totally at an end,* he resumed his former custom.

Almon says, fourthly, what is material to his conclusion of BOYD being the writer of *Junius,* that during the publication of Junius's letters, the writer must have resided on the spot; and that no gentleman

gentleman of rank, and fashion, would live three complete years [January, 1769, to January, 1772], in London, for the sake of writing political letters, and answering anonymous antagonists. Almon further says, that though Junius's letters had been ascribed to many persons, yet none of them were hurt by the imputation; because it was false: but when Junius was only attributed to Mr. Boyd, by inference, Mr. Boyd, and Mrs. Boyd, immediately, took the alarm. Almon, moreover, says, that he knows that the WHIG was also written, by Mr. Boyd: and he had heard very good judges say, that there are passages in the *Whig*, equal in force, and eloquence, to any thing, in the writings of *Junius*.

Almon, finally, says, that he had no doubt of Mr. Boyd's being the author of those letters; that H. S. Woodfall, the first printer of them, never knew the author of *Junius;* and as he never knew, who *was*, he could *not* undertake to assert, who *was not* the author.* Here, then, are two witnesses, Woods and Almon; the first speaks to the moment of printing those political letters; the second goes more fully into the subsequent scenes; and both assign their several reasons, for saying, that they

*The above facts, and circumstances, were taken from Almon's letter of the 10th of December, 1798, from Buxmoor, near Hemel-Hampstead. On the 12th of December, 1806, died Mr. John Almon, formerly bookseller in Piccadilly, and well known in the literary world. [Censura Literaria.] On the same day, died, Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, the conductor of the Public Advertiser, in which the letters of Junius first appeared. [Id.]

believed

believed Boyd to be the author of *Junius's Letters.**

Under the *same head,* I will now produce an evidence, who can speak to many circumstances, attending the writing, and publishing of *Junius's Letters.* I have already produced the record of

* The Times News-paper, of the 26th of March, 1806, has the following paragraph, which will show the fair inquirer after truth, what sort of objections are made to Almon's evidence. "Another attempt appears, *to impose on the public,* respecting the author of the letters of JUNIUS: and the late Mr. Almon's authority is adduced, as to the person who assumed that title. But, Mr. Almon, we will venture to assert, possessed no means of developing *this mystery. The tittle-tattle of his shop,* when he was a bookseller in Piccadilly, *is all that he could detail on the subject.* John Wilkes was used to say, that whenever he should die, the author of those celebrated letters would be immediately known: but, he has been some years mouldering in his grave, and the secret still remains inviolate. There is, in short, no apparent reason to justify an expectation that the public curiosity will ever be gratified, respecting that extraordinary writer. JUNIUS has declared, that he was the sole depositary of his own secret, and that it should die with him. We profess ourselves to be among those, who believe that he has kept his word." Thus far the TIMES! On the contrary, I have shown above, that Almon knew much more than mere *tittle-tattle:* he has spoken to circumstances of the greatest importance, in such an inquiry, as this: he taxed Boyd with being the author; and Boyd, immediately, *changed colour:* when the prosecutions against the printer and publishers of his letters were going on; and *the author* might have been given up, by them, Boyd concealed himself; but, when the prosecutions ceased, Boyd again appeared. I profess myself to be one of those, who believe, that the writer of *Junius* has not kept his own secret. Every murderer is the depositary of his own secret: every day's experience evinces, that murderers are convicted, by laying before the Juries *a concatenation of circumstances.*

Boyd's

Boyd's marriage, in order to let in the testimony of his wife, which I give, from the *Life of Boyd*,* as communicated by herself.

Mrs. Boyd, who is a sensible, and a discreet woman, says, 1st. That at the end of the year 1768, Mr. Boyd commenced his correspondence with the *Public Advertiser;* and on the 21st of January, 1769, the first letter of *Junius* appeared in that paper. That in 1769 and 1770 he also wrote, occasionally, in the same paper, under the signatures of *Lucius* and *Brutus;* and he sometimes sent communications to H. S. Woodfall without any signature at all. Secondly, She says that, in January, 1769, Mr. Boyd was at great pains, in accustoming himself *to disguise his hand writing;* and showing her slips of paper, he used to ask her, whether she thought he had disguised his hand sufficiently; to which she said, he had so completely disguised his hand, that none but *those very well acquainted with his common hand would suspect the writing to be his.* Thirdly, She says, that Mr. Boyd, notwithstanding her entreaties, would not take in the *Public Advertiser*, while Junius was published in it, during the years 1769 and 1770; yet, he himself always manifested much solicitude to see the letters of *Junius*, and would tell, with animation, *that Junius was announced for to-morrow.* Fourthly, She says, that during 1769, and 1770, Boyd continued to send letters, secretly, to the *Public Advertiser*, almost every week, super-

* P. 130, 163, &c.

scribed,

scribed, in his disguised hand; and at this time he used, eagerly, to seek opportunities of introducing the subject of *Junius*; and whatever their private conversation might be, they always ended with *Junius*. Fifthly, After the publication of Junius's letter to the King, Boyd used to redouble his arts of secrecy; and would sometimes take her out a walking, and would slyly put a packet into some penny-post office, at a distance from Woodfall's office; and would, at other times, ask her, taking his packet out of his pocket, to carry it to Woodfall's letter-box, at the corner of Ivy-lane; and often, when they returned home, from such walks, she would hint to him, that *she suspected he was Junius*; but, to this, he would make no reply, but turn the conversation. Sometimes he would write under other signatures, and ask her to copy what he had written, and send such copy to the printer. Sixthly, She says, that in June, 1771, Mr. Boyd took a house at Ruston-Green, near Harrow, when Junius's controversy with Mr. Horne began; and Mr. Boyd manifested the same eagerness about it; and while it lasted, he used to write every forenoon; and when he had finished what he had written, he would walk with it to London, and return the same day; and he used to say, that Mr. Horne was an able reasoner, but that Junius, notwithstanding, had the better of him. Seventhly, She further says, that in November, 1771, Boyd borrowed, from a neighbour of his, at Ruston-Green, several law-books, and state-trials, which he daily read, with seeming much attention,

tention, for the purpose, as she thinks, of supporting the charge of Junius against Lord Mansfield, for *admitting Eyre to bail*, the result whereof appeared in Junius's letter to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, of the 21st of January, 1772; and that about three weeks, after the publication of that letter, Boyd went to Ireland, and *Junius* ceased to write, under this signature, in the Public Advertiser, when he was extremely embarrassed in his circumstances. Eighthly, She also says, that during the same year, 1772, Junius's letters were republished, in a book, with a Dedication, Preface, and Notes, which publication seemed to relieve Mr. Boyd's mind from a burden; and that after that publication, he never was at so much pains to conceal from her the contents of the letter, which he occasionally transmitted to the Public Advertiser. Ninthly, She moreover says that, on the very day, whereon the above-mentioned edition of *Junius*'s letters was published, he brought home with him a copy of the same book, and presented it to her, with the kindest animation in his face; and that in looking over the pages, she was much struck, at seeing some anecdotes of Lord Irnham, Miss Davis, and Mr. Nisbet, one of her guardians, which she had communicated, *in confidence*, to Mr. Boyd; and which she knew had been, very studiously, kept secret, by the parties concerned.* Tenthly, She, finally, says, that she repeatedly told Mr. Boyd,

* Those anecdotes were introduced into, and upon, Junius's letter, No. LXVII, dated the 27th of November, 1771, being the last letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton.

that

that she had strong suspicions he was *Junius;* but, to all she said, on that subject, he was, totally, silent.

In this plain statement of facts, and circumstances, by Mrs. Boyd, we may see Hugh Boyd, in the very act of writing *Junius's letters;* of conveying them, by the most studied secrecy, to the press of Woodfall; of the palpable detection of the husband, by the wife, of being the real author of Junius's letters, whatever *silence* he might affect; in being discovered, by so simple a snare, which has thus laid open to the eye of the world this wily mysteriarch.

It may now seem to some, that with this detection, our inquiry ought to end: but, I will proceed forward, in order to clear every doubt, to *the third* head of my circumstantial proofs. On the 15th day of April, 1786, there appeared the following paragraph in the General Advertiser:—"When Lord Macartney went to Madras, it is well known, that Junius went with his Lordship. He made himself useful to his Lordship, by taking some speeches, at the India House: no man had ever a better memory, or a better knack, at taking speeches, than Junius. He is a native of Ireland, and received his education, in the college of Dublin." Boyd, we see, is not mentioned. Yet, the moment the paragraph appeared, Mrs. Boyd sent a friendly message to the printer; requesting that, no more paragraphs, alluding to Mr. Boyd, might appear in the paper; because she feared, that such information might essentially injure Mr. Boyd's interests, in India:

her request was complied with.* We have thus obtained an additional *detection!* And we may thus perceive, that *Junius* was not the *sole depository* of his own secret, at that epoch. Several persons, in England, strongly suspected Boyd to be the author. Almon may be said, to have known the fact: and, the whole relations of Boyd, in Ireland, had always a strong persuasion among them, *that Boyd wrote Junius.* Yet; is it fit, that my candour should here add, that the late Earl Macartney, after he had, critically, perused my former pamphlet on this subject, had the goodness to inform me, that he did not concur with me, in thinking Boyd to be the author of Junius; that he had always thought S. Dyer to be the most likely writer of those letters. I owe too much to the civility of Earl Macartney, to controvert his opinion: but, I will now say, that Boyd was too able, and artful, a person to allow his Lordship to know his secret; that S. Dyer could not, for the reasons, formerly assigned, by me, have been the writer of *Junius;* and the power of proof, which is now brought against Boyd, precludes the culpability, or the ambition, of any other pretender.

* From Almon's said letter: but Mrs. Boyd went a step farther: " She wrote to Mr. Boyd, inclosing him the above " paragraph, and urging him, if what it stated, was *not* true, to " contradict it, without delay; as he must be sensible, if such a " report gained credit, it would, materially, injure his best interest. " But, to this request, though she frequently re-urged it to him, " she never obtained a reply: he answered all the other parts of " her letters; but, that, which related to *Junius*, he constantly " passed over in silence." [Life of Boyd, p. 151—2.

I am

I am now led, by the plan of my proofs, to evince, in the *fourth* place, that Boyd was considered as the writer of *Junius*, during his residence, in the East. It was here, that his native principles produced his early practices, and ended in his old habits: during the Mysore war, he conducted a newspaper, entitled, *The Courier*.* But, it was in June, 1793, that he first conceived the project of publishing *Periodical Essays*. It was, in August, 1793, that he first made known to the public his plan, for *the Indian Observer*. For those Essays, he appears to have been honoured with the sanction of the higher powers, and favoured with the indulgence of the [Indian] public." What Johnson said of *the Connoisseur*, and *the World*, that *they wanted matter*, may properly be applied to the *Indian Observer*, which is superior to both, in vigour, and elegance. The power, and pride of *Junius*, were his *figures*: the Indian Observer too has his *imagery*. This imagery was favourably received, and usefully felt, at Madras; before the publication of the second *Observer*, a hundred

* Life of Boyd, p. 15: I will here subjoin a note, which I have received, from an intelligent friend, in India, with regard to the management of Boyd, as *the Conductor*, of *the* Courier: "It is notorious, that the late Hugh Boyd was proprietor, editor, and sole conductor of the *Madras Courier*; that *his paper* was engaged, in many important contests, both for, and against the governments of Madras, and Bengal: If Hugh Boyd was the author of Junius, his language may be easily discovered, in the *Madras Courier*; where he was placed in a situation, which called for the utmost exertion of all his abilities: for, *he always liked to "fish in troubled waters."*

 subscribers

subscribers were added to the list of encouragers. The *Indian Observer* went the length of fifty-three numbers; and was closed, on the 16th of September, 1794. It was, indeed, time to finish it: for, in the 50th number of the 19th of August, 1794, appeared the cloven feet of *Boyd*, of *Junius*, and the *Whig;* the blunder of the one; the inaccuracy of the other; and the seditiousness of all: "An observer of the great events of the world," said the Observer, "must be more struck, with "the extraordinary contest, which agitates, not "only the nations of Europe, but extends its com-"motion to the other quarters of the globe, than "with any scene presented, in the annals of his-"tory; whether it be considered, as to *its conse-"quences*, or *its principles*. In *the consequences*, "are [is] involved the happiness of mankind; the "sacred principles, *by which it is actuated*, are "*liberty*, and *the rights of Man*." The *Indian Observer* had, properly, engaged, that "this paper "should *not mix* in political questions:" yet, Boyd, with his usual bias, introduced on the scene, *the rights of man;* his ungrammatical substitution of *are*, for *is*, may be considered, as characteristic of his *Junius;* and his exhibition of the French Revolution, with "*its sacred princi-"ples*," to the servants of the East India Company, was altogether worthy of *his Whig*.

We have thus seen, that Boyd carried his principles, and propensities, from London to Madras. He delighted *to fish in troubled waters*, in Europe, and he, equally, found delight in the same amuse-

ment,

ment, in India. He lived in public papers, at home, and he existed, in similar enjoyments, abroad. *Before* he emigrated, he distinguished himself, by his *Junius*, his *Freeholder*, and his *Whig*; and *after* his emigration, he wrote his *Madras Courier*, and *his Indian Observer*. I will now draw the proof closer. Lieut.-General Dirom (himself an author) said to a friend of mine,* that he was very well acquainted with Mr. Boyd, at Madras; that he greatly admired his talents, as indeed every body else did; and had not the least doubt of his having wrote the letters, signed Junius. In these intimations we see the rectitude of General Dirom's judgment. I will now submit the evidence of another intelligent officer: Captain Neville, of the Light Horse, being at Calcutta; and dining in company with Hugh Boyd; Boyd said something, after they were mellow with wine, which convinced him, that Boyd was the writer of Junius: and so Captain Neville said, and thought, after his return to this country.† *In vino Veritas:*

* John Murray, of Murraythwait, Esq. a leading magistrate, and deputy lieutenant of Dumfriesshire, wrote to me, on the 23d of May, 1800, "that Colonel Dirom, with whom I had, lately, "when at Edinburgh, a good deal of conversation upon the sub-"ject of the writer of Junius, informed me, 'that he was well "acquainted with Mr. Boyd, at Madras, that he greatly admired "his talents, as indeed every body else did, and had not the "least doubt of his having written the letters, signed Junius." "The colonel celebrated Boyd's skill at chess, having often "played with him, at that game."

† I received the above information, on the 17th of May, 1813, from Mr. Thomas Egerton, the Military Bookseller, at Charing-Cross.

wine may be considered, as one of the coadjutors of *time*, in revealing the secrets of the heart to a confiding world.

We are now arrived at the last step of this concatenation of evidence. When the Jury has heard all the previous circumstances of a criminal case, what remains, for their decision, when the confession of the culprit is laid before them? Mons. Bonnecarrère, late minister plenipotentiary, director general of the foreign department, under Louis XVI. being sent on a confidential mission to India, became acquainted with Hugh Boyd, at Madras, in 1785. And, going afterwards to Calcutta, Bonnecarrère, instead of being treated, as a spy, was received into the house of Sir John Macpherson, with all the goodnature, and genuine hospitality, which is so natural to that admirable man. Here, Hugh Boyd joined him, during the same year, when the familiarity, between Bonnecarrère and Boyd, was carried up to friendship. It was, in this residence, and on that occasion, that Hugh Boyd made a confidential declaration to Bonnecarrère, on condition, that he should not reveal the secret to the Governor-General of Bengal, nor to any one else, during Boyd's life, "*that he was the real author of Junius's letters.*"*

M. Bonne-

* The following is a copy of a memorandum, in the hand of Sir John Macpherson, which he wrote, in 1802, soon after Bonnecarrère had come to London, in May, 1802.

"Memorandum. In one of Bonnecarrère's visits to me, after sending me a "note of his arrival from Paris, he saw the picture of the late

Mr.

M. Bonnecarrère seems to have acted, honourably, towards Boyd. He kept this secret, which was so important to Boyd, till he was assured, that *the author of Junius* was no more; and could neither be injured, by his unfaithfulness, nor vexed, by his garrulity. He made the first mention of the secret to the respectable character, in whose hospitable mansion, the interesting trust was reposed in him. M. Bonnecarrère has recently published a solemn declaration of the same fact, in *le Journal des Débats*. But, I do not perceive, that he has added any material fact, in addition to the important secret, which he revealed, in 1802, to Sir John Macpherson; except giving a sort of narrative of the manner, in which he became acquainted with Boyd, and the mode how their acquaintance, by various attentions, was carried up to friendship.

It should seem, indeed, if we might derive an inference, from the facts, that Boyd, who was the *sole depository* of his own secret, became uneasy under this surcharge. In playing at chess with

" Mr. Hugh Boyd, in my library. He inquired, earnestly, about " him, as they had met, at many friendly parties, in my house, in " the year 1785, in Bengal. I told him, that our worthy friend, " Mr. Boyd, was no more, and that he died, in India: then, said " Mons. Bonnecarrère, I am at liberty, to open to you a confi- " dential declaration, which he made to me, on an express condi- " tion, that I should not mention it to you, in his life-time; viz. " that he was the author of JUNIUS's Letters: M. Bonnecarrère " added, that this communication took place one night, that we " remained alone, at your table, at the government-house; and " he seemed most anxious, that I should not mention the fact to " you." I received the same information, in the same year, from Mr. Davies, the bookseller, in the Strand.

General Dirom, he seems to have thrown out enough, to satisfy that very intelligent officer, of his being the author of Junius. During the familiarity, which wine inspires, Boyd seems to have been more open, before Captain Neville. And, as Boyd could no longer retain what seemed to be uneasy to him, he took the convenient opportunity of being alone with Bonnecarrère, to reveal the interesting secret, which oppressed him: under proper guards, however, that it should not be told, while he could be injured, by the discovery.

Upon the whole, then, whether we regard the strong proof of the author of *Junius* being an Irishman; or consider the evidence of Woods, while those letters were in the course of publication; the narrative, and detection of the author's wife, with the pregnant circumstances, related by Almon, when he taxed Boyd, with being the author, or the instructive transaction, at the epoch of Boyd's emigration, when his wife, virtually, declared her conviction of his authorship; or the convincing testimonies of General Dirom, and Captain Neville, or Boyd's private avowal of his authorship to Bonnecarrère; it should seem, that the point, at issue, is proved, beyond a doubt.

Yet, as I have intimated, Earl Macartney was not quite convinced, by my former inquiries, which, I will avow, were not so strong in their circumstances, nor so pointed in their proofs, as the present. His Lordship was pleased to say. "Having "been shut up in a small packet with Mr. Boyd, "during a four months' passage to India, without "once

"once letting go an anchor, I had frequent oppor-
"tunities of sounding his depth, and of studying,
"and knowing him well, though I was not before,
"personally, acquainted with him." I willingly acknowledge his Lordship's penetration; but, I must be allowed to observe, that Boyd was an able, and artful man, who was fully aware of the importance of his silence, and the benefit of his circumspection. His Lordship's protection, and Boyd's future success, depended on both. His Lordship was pleased to add: "I do not say that he was incapable of writing to the full as well as *Junius;* but, I say, I do not, by any means, believe, that he was the author of Junius. Mr. Boyd had many splendid passages of Junius by heart, as also of Mr. Burke's Parliamentary Speeches, and was also a great admirer of Sterne, whose manner he affected, in his private letters. Mr. Chalmers's argument would be stronger, if any performance of Mr. Boyd, previous to the appearance of *Junius*, could be found, which indicated, that *Junius* might be expected, from such a writer."* I am, however, disposed to suspect, that his Lordship, like other nobles, and scholars, has somewhat imposed upon himself, by supposing that, *Junius* is better written, than a slight criticism would show it to be composed.

* I have copied the above passages, from a pretty long *critique*, which his Lordship had the condescension to write on a spare leaf of my former work: in which he had the goodness to acknowledge: "Great industry, research, ingenuity, and critical sagacity, "appear to be displayed in this Treatise; and afford very plausible "ground, for the opinion, Mr. Chalmers has formed;" &c.

Let

Let us take a few examples, from his notorious epistle to a great personage, which we may easily suppose, to have been elaborated: It opens thus: "It is the misfortune of your life, and [was] originally, the cause of every reproach, *and* distress, "which *has* [have] attended your government." Whoever, saw, before, originally *is?* Reproach, *and* distress, which *has:* This sort of false concord may be seen, in every letter of *Junius*. "It was "not a cold profession of allegiance to the first "magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment "to a favourite Prince, the native of their coun- "try." Here, there is a full sentence, without a governing verb, and a subsequent object: Thus: [animated attachment to a favourite Prince, *which induced your subjects* to act, in this loyal manner.] As the above sentence stands, without the *verb*, and the *object*, it is perfect nonsense. There is much of this sort of nonsense in Junius, who seems to have written to his ear, without regarding his understanding, "With which a *certain part* of your "subjects have [has] been at all times ready."— "If England was [were] sold to France." Junius knew nothing of *the subjunctive mood.* "The rays "of royal indignation, [which were] collected upon "him, served only to illuminate, and could not "consume" [him.] Consume what, or whom? The object is wanting, to make out the sense. *Junius*, no doubt, thought this sentence very fine, and sonorous, with all its blunder, and nonsense. "Wilkes "will soon fall back into his natural station, a silent "senator, *and hardly supporting* the weekly elo-

"quence

"quence of a newspaper." The faults of this sentence cannot easily be mended. It might be made sense, and grammar thus: Pardon this man; and *if* resentment still prevails [prevail], make it an act not of mercy, but [of] contempt: He will [would] soon fall back into his natural station [of] a silent senator, and [feeble scribbler] of the weekly eloquence of a newspaper. The Attorney General had, perhaps, done better to have filed an information in Westminster School, rather than in Westminster Hall; in order, that a jury of the boys might decide on the culpability of writing such *balderdash* to a personage, who perfectly knew the proprieties of his native tongue.*

It is surely time, to make a stand against this degeneracy, of considering a writer, who abounds in bad grammar, and false English, in imperfect sense, and embarrassed sentiment, as supremely excellent, in style, and matter. Every Englishman may well cry out, with Ben Jonson:

> "It is against my freehold, my inheritance,
> "To drink such *balderdash*, or *bonnyclabber!*

Against such a stand, however, against such an outcry, our *northern critics* will of course *rebel*: They will continue to quote *Junius*, and *Johnson*, as the great patterns of *sonorous writing*; plainly preferring *Junius* to *Johnson*, both for sound, and sense. But, they feel none of the niceties of com-

* Lord S—— when Secretary of State, more than once told me, that he had never received a note, from the ——, about the meaning of which, there could be *two opinions*; so clear was his conception, and so accurate his style.

position.

position. They admire *Junius*, for virtues like their own; for contempt of order, and rage of defamation; for absurdity of politics, and spuriousness of scholarship.

The duty, which I owe to Earl Macartney, for his obliging critique, now calls upon me to answer his request, for some performance of Mr. Boyd; which was written previous to the appearance of *Junius*. His Lordship, we may suspect, saw how youthful the composition of *Junius* appeared to the eye of experience; how critical acumen must turn away, from grammatical impurities; and how discernment must loath the frequent recurrence of the total want of the analogies of the English tongue. It is a fact, which is sufficiently known at Dublin, that the father of Boyd was very attentive to the education of his son; that the youth, instead of copying the classical lessons of other boys, was much more studious of his own tongue; that the youthful *Junius* was more ambitious of writing *poetical prose*, than of attending to the lessons of *Lowth*. In this outline of his studies, which was drawn, by those, who knew his family best, a discerning eye may perceive an accurate delineation of his *Junius*. When he was *fifteen*, he entered Trinity College, wherein he *acquitted himself with credit*; and when he was nineteen, he obtained his Batchelor of Arts degree, being *highly cultivated*, and *possessed of considerable* talents, as I have been assured, by his learned classfellow. He obtained that degree, in 1765; and soon after, set out, for London, to engage in the study of the law.

While

While he was thus engaged, he published various papers, as political exercises, but of which I have no copies, for the gratification of curiosity, or the examination of criticism. STERNE died, on the 18th of March, 1768, whose grave remained long undistinguished, by any memorial; a circumstance this, which touched the sensibility of Boyd: And, his muse was thus incited to produce the subjoined STANZAS, on seeing *Sterne*'s grave, unhonoured, in the cemetery of St. George's, Hanover-square:—

And, is no friendly mourner near!
The last sad office to assume;
O'er his cold grave to drop a tear,
Or, "pluck the nettle from his tomb?"

Forgive me, STERNE, if from thy line,
The sympathetic hint I drew;
The feeling heart must copy thine;
The tender mourner think like you!

I submit the above STANZAS, as superior to any of the Epistles of *Junius*; Here, are no impropriеties; Here, is none of the tinsel of Junius; here is none of his affectations of saying something new, in some peculiar phrase; But, here is pathos, here is elegance, here is point; in the language of the heart. "The ANTRIM FREEHOLDER, and THE "WHIG, says Lord Macartney, seem rather to be "imitations of *Junius*, than productions of the *same* "*pen*:" But, do not the *Whig*, and the *Freeholder*, require a pen of equal smartness, of equal strength, of equal splendour? And having in view, at the moment of comparison, the proofs, which ascertain, that Boyd wrote all: When the culprit acknowledges the fact; why should the jury trouble themselves,

themselves, about such difficult decisions, as between similarity, and sameness; as between imitation, and reality. In deference, however, to the rectitude of Lord Macartney's judgment, we ought to recollect, that his Lordship did not see, nor understand, with General Dirom's eyes, and understanding, at Madras; neither was his Lordship present at the Bacchanals, in Calcutta, when Captain Neville heard Boyd say every thing but avow *Junius*, as his own; neither was his Lordship aware, that Boyd, in a moment of solitariness, and silence, and softness, confessed to Monsieur Bonnecarrère, in the Government-house at Calcutta, that he had written *Junius*.

From those considerations, we are naturally led into a slight investigation of the human character. It was, only, from the writings of Pope, who did not shine in conversation, that Lord Oxford knew what finished productions his frequent guest could dictate. From the conversation of Psalmanazar, the University of Oxford never discovered his impositions. From his intimacy with Lawder, Johnson never perceived, that he was throwing away his patronage on an impostor. Did Horace Walpole ascertain, from his correspondence with Chatterton, what such a boy could forge, or write? Did Edmond Burke imagine, when he received Boyd, into his family, that he had admitted into his intimacy a writer, who would palm upon him his own libels? The answers to those questions, then, seem to inculcate, that it is not from the acquaintance, or intimacy, with any singular man, that his true

character

character can be discovered, who is, by nature, subtile, and, by practice, sly.

It is not, therefore, for any one, who knew either Mac Aulay, or Boyd, upon the town, before his character was ascertained, or his talents were tried, to say, negatively, against so many *affirmative* proofs, that HE was neither the writer of *Junius*'s letters, nor *capable of writing them.*

This conclusion has already been, in a great measure, anticipated: For I have shown, that CHATTERTON, who was a younger person than Boyd, who was as great a genius, who was a political writer of equal powers, and a superior poet; was busily employed, during the same period, in imposing on credulity, and deluding weakness. I have already proved, by examples, that *Junius* was neither so high, nor *Boyd* so low, as too many suppose. I have compared the principles, and peculiarities both of *Junius*, and of *Boyd*; their topicks of argument; their figures of style. I will now submit to the more judicious reader, some comparative specimens of each, which were taken, promiscuously, from the several writings of *Junius*, and the undoubted writings of *Boyd:*

JUNIUS.

[The] DEDICATION of the genuine Ed. of *Junius*, 1772.

"I dedicate to you a collection of letters, *written by one of yourselves*, for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement,

BOYD.

The first *letter* of the Antrim FREEHOLDER, 1776.

They are the Trustees, not the Owners of the Estate. The Fee simple is in us. JUNIUS.

The great writer, whose words I have placed at the head of my paper, is justly acknowledged

couragement, and applause. To me they, *originally*, owe [owed] nothing, but a healthy constitution. Under your care they have thriven. To *you* they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are [shall be] forgotten, the force and direction of personal satyre *is* [are] no longer understood, and when measures are [shall be] only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain *principles* worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When you leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to your children, you do but half your duty. Both liberty, and property, are precarious, unless the possessors have sense, and spirit enough [enow] to defend them. This is not the language of vanity. If I am [be] a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.

" If I am [be] honest, and, I may truly affirm [that I am]; if a laborious zeal for the public service, *has* [have] given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, however minute ledged to excel, in splendour of imagery, and in strength of diction. But his excellence extends to points, still more important. No writer has investigated with such sagacity, nor with such clearness pointed out, the true nature of our admirable Constitution. The wisdom and learning of Lock has [have] ascertained some great fundamental maxim, which constituted, or at least contributed to form, the basis of our liberties. But, it remained, for the succeeding address, and eloquence of Junius, to encounter and to subdue, at least in the fields of argument, the more refined corruptions of later times.

The gradual decay of the democratical part of our Constitution, gives most serious alarm to every man, who knows how to value the legal freedom, of *regulating his actions by his own reason*, and of *disposing his property according to his own will*, for his own, and his country's advantage. These signal, and God-like, privileges have hitherto blessed these happy kingdoms. To secure, to perpetuate the blessing, is [are] the duty [duties] of every man in them. It is peculiarly ours, my countrymen and fellow-freeholders. It is indispensably

nute the instance may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact to day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy. Be assured, that the laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the Constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of faction, or [nor] of party, or [nor] of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. Although the King should continue to support his present system of government, the period is *not* very distant, at which you will have the means of redress in your own power. It may be nearer, perhaps, than any of us expect, and I would warn you to be prepared for it. The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present Parliament a year or two before it expires, of course, and precipitate a new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprise. If such a measure be in agitation, this very caution may defeat or prevent it.

I cannot doubt, that you will unanimously sably ours; for the fee-simple is in *us*."

Permit, therefore, *one of yourselves*, thus to fulfil his duty to his country, by submitting to you, with no other confidence than what truth inspires, his thoughts on this most important subject; and at this critical opportunity, which alone has been given to us, by the virtue of persevering patriotism, to emancipate our freeholds, and to vindicate the Constitution.

We are no longer sunk in the dead repose of despotism, and long Parliaments. Those stagnations of corruption and filth, shall no more poison the land. "*Alba nautis stella refulsit.*" The returning day star of the Constitution again illuminates the political hemisphere, and, in fulness of splendour, displays the glorious moment, which restores to us our original rights. The power which we delegated, and the trust which we conferred, revert to us. The Constitution regenerates. And the new birth inspires new vigour. As the giant received renovation of strength from touching his mother earth, so the rights of the people acquire new spring and force, when brought back to their original and parent source,

unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. But other questions have been started, on which your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon your minds. Let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of all civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman, and that the right of Juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our Constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the Judges, nor in any shape questionable by the Legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in us. They cannot alienate, they cannot waste [it.] When we say that the Legislature is *supreme*, we mean that it is the highest power known to the Constitution; that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the law. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute. The power of the Legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare

the people's voice. *Surely*, my brethren will not be so blind to their most essential interests, as to neglect, or abuse, this only opportunity of protecting them. Is there a man amongst us, who will not praise, and honour, that truly constitutional measure, the bill for limiting the duration of Parliament? Shall there be found a slave, so sottishly dull, or so shamelessly base, as to thwart *the* glorious purpose intended, by that admirable bill? The purpose of Independence; the cause of Liberty!

Such, my friends, are the invaluable blessings now within our grasp! Such are the transcendent rewards now presented to us, by the opportunity of an election. Power now returns to its genuine centre, the will of the people. It is theirs, and only theirs, again to put it in action, and to prescribe its operations. The vital blood ebbs back, to the heart of the *Constitution*. Let us imitate the wisdom of nature, and we shall attain its successful effects. Let us give the vital streams again to flow through their constitutional channels. So shall the health of the whole body be restored, and its strength established. Every part of it shall revive, and flourish. And the ghastly countenance

welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that King, Lords, and Commons, have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the Constitution by an Act of Parliament. But I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the Crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal, degenerate mind. Without insisting upon the extravagant concession made to Henry the Eighth, there are instances, in history of other countries, of a formal, deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the Sovereign. If England does [do] not share the same fate, it is because we have better resources, than in the virtue of either House of Parliament.

I said that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all your rights, and that the rights of the juries to return a general countenance of poverty and servitude, shall brighten into the smile of happiness, and the triumph of Liberty.

I have said, that the opportunity of attaining these glorious objects is now presented to us. To prove this important truth, and to inculcate the use we should make of this important crisis, shall be the business of my future letters. In the mean time, permit me to add a word, relative to myself. If the cause of truth required assistance, perhaps some might be derived to it, from the disinterested character of her advocate. To begin, then, negatively,—I am not actuated to this undertaking by an idle ambition, of applause in general, nor of the particular approbation of any of your candidates: (for my name is unknown, and I hope will remain so.) I am not a great man, nor a placeman, nor a pensioner, nor a Jacobite, nor a Tory, nor a slave: nor do I aspire to any of those honourable appellations, either jointly or severally. I do not, on the other hand, " beat the drum of fac- " tion, nor sound the trumpet " of sedition." For, I do most positively and solemnly protest myself, a zealous friend to the Constitution, as established in

ral verdict is part of your constitution [are parts of your constitution.] To preserve the whole system, you must correct your Legislature. With regard to any influence of the constituent over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in Parliament for seven years and a seat for life. The prospect of your resentment is too remote; and although the last Session of a septennial Parliament be usually employed in courting the favour of the people, consider that, at this rate, your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution. If you reflect that in the changes of administration, which have marked and disgraced the present reign, although your warmest patriots have, in their turn, been invested with the lawful and unlawful authority of the Crown; and though other reliefs or improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a bill for shortening the duration of Parliament, but that (whoever was minister) the opposition to this measure, ever since the Septennial Act passed, has been constant and uniform on the church and state. I am religiously attached to the palladium of all our liberties, *the liberty of the press;* and am at present much obliged to it, for allowing me to tell you so. In short, I am *a freeman;* and,—a title which I would not exchange for a French dukedom, nor the highest seat in the Turkish Divan,

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 5, 1776.

LETTER II.

[MOTTO.]

I cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. JUNIUS.

Let me, in the first place, conjure you, my countrymen, never to lose sight of the great fundamental principle, *that you are the origin of power.* Government was constituted *by* and *for* the people. This is the voice of reason, and the right of humanity: and applies, in theory, to all the nations in the world. But, it is our peculiar felicity, to realize the speculation; and to feel its actual blessings. We are *de facto,* as well as *de jure,* free.

The

the part of Government, you cannot but conclude, without possibility of a doubt, that long Parliaments are the foundation [foundations] of the undue influence of the Crown. This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the Crown, with an expence and oppression to the people, which would be unnecessary in arbitrary government. The BEST of our ministers find it the easiest and most compendious mode of conducting the King's affairs; and all ministers have a general interest in adhering to a system, which of itself is sufficient to support them in office, without any assistance from personal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promises every gratification to avarice and ambition, and secures impunity. These are truths unquestionable. If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continued too long. You are roused at last to a sense of your danger. The remedy will soon be in your power. If *Junius* lives, [live] you shall often be reminded of it. If, when the opportunity presents itself, you neglect to do your duty to yourselves and to posterity, to God and

The superior freedom of our Constitution results from the admirable disposition of its component powers. These are exactly competent to the purest purposes of liberty: For, as the natural tendency of each is to the benefit of all, that is, to general liberty, so this disposition is confirmed, and confined to its object, by the relative controul of each power over the others. The people deliberate, the Peers approve, and the King assents. This triple authority makes the law. The execution of which is entrusted to the royal arm, merely, for the sake of decision and dispatch.

A FREEHOLDER.

Feb. 9, 1776.

and to your country, I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind. Civil liberty may still last the life of

JUNIUS.

I now beg to submit, that *The Freeholder* is superior to *Junius*. The composition of *The Freeholder* is free from faults. The composition of *Junius* is full of faults, which I have tried to correct. The language is often the same; the Freeholder having borrowed from *Junius*. The principles of both are the same; the topicks of both are similar, being seditious in both. The superiority of the Freeholder may be owing to this circumstance, that Boyd was more experienced, when he wrote the Freeholder, than when he wrote *the Dedication* to the people: when he wrote the last he was twenty-six years old; and when he wrote *his Freeholder* he was on the verge of thirty.

I will now submit a comparative specimen of JUNIUS, and of his WHIG; in order that the intelligent reader may form his deliberate opinion of both; the former being taken from the first Letter of *Junius*,* and the latter from the first paper of the *Whig*:†

JUNIUS. 21st Jan. 1769.

"The submission of a free "people to the executive autho- "rity of government is no more "than

The WHIG. Nov. 1779.

"I trust that neither my name "nor principles are obsolete; "though I am aware, that the "name

* Gen. Ed. vol. i. p. 1.

† Alm. Anec. vol. iii. p. 1.

" than a compliance with laws,
" which they themselves have
" enacted. While the national
" honour is firmly maintained
" abroad, and while justice is
" impartially administered at
" home, the obedience of the
" subject will be voluntary,
" chearful, and I might almost
" say unlimited. A generous
" nation is grateful even for
" the preservation of its rights,
" and willingly extends the re-
" spect due to the office of a
" good prince into an affection
" for his person. Loyalty, in
" the heart and understanding
" of an Englishman, is a rational
" attachment to the guardian of
" the laws. Prejudices and
" passions have sometimes car-
" ried it to a criminal length;
" and, whatever foreigners may
" imagine, we know that Eng-
" lishmen have erred as much
" in a mistaken zeal for parti-
" cular persons and families, as
" they ever did in defence of
" what they thought most dear
" and interesting to themselves.

" It naturally fills us with re-
" sentment, to see such a temper
" insulted and abused. In read-
" ing the history of a free peo-
" ple, whose rights have been
" invaded, we are interested in
" their cause. Our own feel-
" ings tell us how long they
" ought
" name is not in such respect,
" nor the principles *yet* so active,
" as at the period of the Revo-
" lution. But, if I did not feel
" myself warranted, in the hope
" that I address a powerful body
" of my countrymen, when I
" call on my brethren of *The*
" *good old Cause*, I would not
" waste my labour on a despe-
" rate theme, nor profane the
" doctrine of liberty, by dis-
" cussing it to unanimous slaves.

" Whiggism we have seen
" triumphant in America. Whig-
" gism we see preparing her
" triumph in Ireland. Let us
" hope, let us prove, that her
" sacred flame is not extinct in
" England.

" If a slave of power shrink
" from the mention of the good
" old cause, or, in the callous
" impudence of servitude, pre-
" sume to vilify it, I pity his
" wretchedness, I despise his in-
" solence; but I would punish
" his treason to the constitution.

" The good old cause is the
" cause of the people. Simple
" and obvious is this considera-
" tion; that *the cause of the peo-*
" *ple is successful exactly in pro-*
" *portion to the energy of their ori-*
" *ginal power.* Such energy,
" acting through the classes of
" the constitution, which the
" people made, preserves their
" liberty

" ought to have submitted, and " at what moment it would have " been treachery to themselves " not to have resisted. How " much warmer will be our re- " sentment, if experience should " bring the fatal example home " to ourselves.

" The situation of this coun- " try is alarming enough to " rouse the attention of every " man, who pretends to a con- " cern for the public welfare. " Appearances justify suspicion; " and when the safety of a na- " tion is at stake, suspicion is a " just ground of enquiry. Let " us enter into it with candour " and decency. Respect is due " to the station of ministers; " and, if a resolution must at " last be taken, there is none so " likely to be supported with " firmness, as that which has " been adopted with modera- " tion. Without much politi- " cal sagacity, or any extraordi- " nary depth of observation, we " need only mark how the prin- " cipal departments of the state " are bestowed, and look no far- " ther for the true cause of " every mischief that befals " us."

" liberty as a people, and their " power as a nation; for it " watches integrity, and pro- " vides ability, in the persons " they permit to administer " their affairs. Various and in- " tricate, on the contrary, are " the means conducive to *their* " cause; ambition, avarice, or " sloth, would enslave, impo- " verish, or lose their country. " Rectitude has only one direc- " tion, but the obliquity of " treachery is infinite.

" The direction in which the " people of this country act " when they act rightly, is, " through the parliament which " they have elected, to the " throne which they have raised. " If wickedness or weakness be " found in the counsels or coun- " sellors of the crown, parlia- " ment is the instrument ap- " pointed to punish or to dis- " miss; but if the instrument " fail, the land will exert her " native strength. The people, " of original right as a free " people, will vindicate the " country, correct their parlia- " ment, and reform their " throne."

Such is the similarity of the two papers, by the same writer, at the distance of ten years, that the acutest

acutest critic cannot tell *Junius* from the *Whig*; if you allow him, only, the use of his understanding, by shutting his eyes to the signatures. It is not, therefore, consistent with the good sense of those, who have hazarded their opinions, that the writer of the one was unequal to the writing of the other. I will submit to the judicious reader, another specimen of the same writer, under different signatures; in order that the topicks, as well as the style, may more manifestly appear:

The sentiments of JUNIUS, on the maxim, that *the King can do no wrong:*

[Gen. Ed. Preface, p. xxvii.]

" Some opinion may now be " expected from me, upon a " point of equal delicacy to the " writer, and hazard to the " printer. When the character " of the chief magistrate is in " question, more must be under- " stood, than may be safely ex- " pressed. If it be really a part " of our constitution, and not a " mere *dictum* of the law, *that* " *the King can do no wrong*, it is " not the only instance, in the " wisest of human institutions, " where theory is at variance " with practice.—That the so- " vereign of this country is not " amenable to any form of trial, " known to the laws, is unques- " tionable. But exemption from " punishment is a singular pri- " vilege

The sentiments of the WHIG, on the maxim, that *the King can do no wrong:*

[Alm. Anec. v. 3. App. p. 6—7.]

" When a monarch in this " country, sprung from what- " ever line, adorned with what- " ever hopes from the glories of " his ancestry, or his own ori- " ginal virtues, persists in coun- " sels, that do grievous wrongs, " and threaten instant ruin; " affection is lost in duty. Du- " ty to the country demands dis- " cussion of a maxim, which " if the construction of the " court were permitted, would " sanctify every public crime, " and establish public calamity. " Duty to the prince, as part " of the constitution formed by " the people, enjoins constitu- " tional explanation to him of a " phrase, which flattery has " rendered fatal to tyrants.

" When

" vilege annexed to the royal
" character, and no way ex-
" cludes the possibility of de-
" serving it. How long, and
" to what extent a king of
" *England* may be protected by
" the forms, when he violates
" the spirit of the constitution,
" deserves to be considered. A
" mistake in this matter proved
" fatal to *Charles* and his son.
" For my own part, far from
" thinking that the king can do
" no wrong, far from suffering
" myself to be deterred or im-
" posed upon by the language
" of forms, in opposition to the
" substantial evidence of truth, if
" it were my misfortune to live
" under the inauspicious reign
" of such a prince, I would not
" scruple to declare to him —
" 'You have no enemies, sir, but
" those who persuade you to
" aim at power without right,
" and who think it flattery to
" tell you that the character of
" king dissolves the natural re-
" lation between guilt and pu-
" nishment.'——The house of
" commons are only interpre-
" ters, whose duty it is to con-
" vey the sense of the people
" faithfully to the crown. If the
" interpretation be false or im-
" perfect, the constituent powers
" are called upon to deliver
" their own sentiments. Their
" speech

" When it is truly said, that
" the king can do no wrong,
" the office is intended and not
" the person; and this true con-
" struction is the perfect praise
" of our admirable constitution.
" The king of England can do no
" wrong; for it is not the office
" of the king *to do* any thing.
" The cautious wisdom of our
" policy will not permit the
" king to act. It not only sup-
" poses, but requires, that abi-
" lity shall be selected from the
" people to execute the active
" duties of the state. Even in
" the selection of such active
" ability for public service, the
" king, as we are now consider-
" ing him, cannot do wrong.
" For the consideration supposes
" him in his constitutional pub-
" lic character; a character con-
" ferred on him, conditionally,
" by the people. The condi-
" tion of his royalty is a wise
" and honest administration of
" the state. It is impossible,
" therefore, in constitutional
" contemplation, that a *King of*
" *England* should appoint inca-
" pable or unworthy men to ad-
" minister public affairs; or, if
" appointed, that *the people of*
" *England* should permit them
" to be retained; that a free
" people should sacrifice their
" original rights and constitu-
" tive

" speech is rude, but intelli-
" gible;—their gestures fierce,
" but full of explanation. Per-
" plexed by sophistries, their
" honest eloquence rises into
" action. Their first appeal was
" to the integrity of their repre-
" sentatives:—the second to the
" King's justice;—the last argu-
" ment of the people, whenever
" they have recourse to it, will
" carry more perhaps than per-
" suasion to parliament, or sup-
" plication to the throne."—
[Gen. Ed. v. 2. p. 89.]

" tive power to such abuses of
" the kingly office. The un-
" fairness of arguing from such
" abuse is evident. The kingly
" office so abused would no
" longer belong to the consti-
" tution. It is a monstrous
" case, and out of the suppo-
" sition of fair reasoning.—*Ob-*
" *stinate* adherence, therefore,
" to such a principle, induces
" the inevitable alternative of
" slavery in the people, or the
" personal responsibility of ma-
" jesty. The latter has a pre-
" cedent, in our history; the
" former has no example."

I will now submit, as the last comparative specimen of this uncommon, and devious writer, some passages from his Anecdotes of *Junius*, which were published in 1771,* when Boyd was twenty-five years old, and his first Number of the *Indian Observer*, which was published, at Madras, in September, 1793, when the same person was upwards of forty-seven.

The ANECDOTES of *Junius*.

From the greatest abilities, engaged in the best of causes, it is natural to expect an end proportional to the means; and that every point must be carried, that was

The OBSERVER, No. 1.

The difficulty of the first address on any new occasion, is felt, by every man, in his transactions with the world. JOHNSON.

"If such be the acknowledgement

* The Genuine Letters of *Junius*: To which are prefixed Anecdotes of the author. *Piccadilly*. London, MDCCLXXI.

was once authorized by reason, and enforced by rhetorick. But, in a country, governed, by parties, the best of causes stands equally in need of the best support with the worst; and even with all the advantages on its side, is often given up, against reason, and abandoned, without regret.

It is not our design to write a panegyric on the author of the following letters: The reception they have already met with in the world, hath anticipated that design, and rendered a more formal execution of it unnecessary. To this general sketch of the bright [illegible] of the picture, we shall, therefore, proceed—to point out some of those particular, and distinguishing touches of character, which if they do not serve to soften the colouring, and heighten the beauty of the portrait, will tend, at least, to give it a more striking likeness, and afford a true, and natural resemblance of the original.

We shall do this also, without fear of giving offence to the author; as no man of his sense, and experience, would wish to be flatteringly, and fallaciously, represented, as one of those "faultless monsters, which the world ne'er saw."

ledgement of a great master, who, to extraordinary force of mind, united the ample stores of learning and knowledge, and with a strength of style, peculiarly his own, presented more subjects to the public eye, than perhaps, any other author, what must be the feelings of the common class of writers? And, if, merely, the first address involve so much difficulty, how formidable must be the undertaking, to repeat, at stated periods, certain *quantums* of composition; to bind fancy down to punctuality; and to present to the public attention, *a Periodical Essay?* How arduous ought the attempt to appear, if they know themselves, to those whose literary ambition must be conscious of much unstudious avocation; who have omitted to supply by observation, or even late enquiry, what perhaps was early neglected in study, or denied in genius; to those, in fine, whose experience is so limited, both of themselves and the public, that they think they can write, and hope they will be read. It may be remarked, that these difficulties are more felt by the veteran than the young adventurer; that forward zeal will rush, where caution would

It is with the author, as with his works.

"Whoever thinks a perfect piece
to see,
"Thinks what ne'er was, nor is,
nor e'er shall be."

Were we disposed, in imitation of Plutarch, to draw a parallel, the writer, whose talents those of *Junius* seem most to resemble is the late Lord Bolingbroke. It was probably this congeniality, of mental abilities, rather than any error in judgment, that led our author, in one of *the earliest pieces* with which he obliged the world, to copy the stile [style] and sentiments of that noble writer so exactly, that the performance passed, for some time even with the critics and connoisseurs as a posthumous production of his Lordship.

Of the same kind are those critiques on political publications, with which our author, about that time, occasionally favoured those well known farragoes of literary and political criticism, the Reviews: those very *heterogenous* [heterogeneous] works, that during a course of upwards of twenty years, have worn a very different face at different times, and have been very unequally executed by different authors, gentle and simple, whigs and tories, learned and would tremble to tread: and that the superficial judge boldly plunges into his sea of troubles; fearless, because ignorant of the dangers of the literary deep.

Although not wholly in the latter description, of absolute inexperience, the present writer is well aware of his distance from the former. He regards with a most respectful eye, the interval between his humble essay and the excellence of periodical publication, which for an Augustan century, has been the ornament and instruction of his country. From the first admirable example of this species of composition, through the many succeeding specimens of excellent imitation, up to the didactic moral, and sententious eloquence of a late learned luminary, so extensive a range has been taken of life and manners and with such minute investigation, that little opening appeared for the encouragement of subsequent attempts on a similar plan; few materials seemed to remain for any novelty of subject, or variety of arrangement. Scarcely a corner or recess of human character has been left unexplored, or a motive of conduct untraced. While the Eagle eye of the *Spectator* has looked vice into shame, his keen and brilliant ray

and unlearned, sceptical and credulous; composing the most motley groupe of writers that ever at once informed and infested society.

Had Junius the vanity of a certain rival politician now seated at the Board of Treasury, he would probably wish to have it forgotten that he ever acted the part of an obscure and anonymous reviewer; but when he reflects that they were both labourers in the same vineyard with men, who like themselves, have since risen to consideration and eminence, both in Church and State, he must reflect also, with some complacency, on the means by which they whetted their wits to qualify them for the posts and offices they so well do, or so ardently wish, to sustain.

The affectation of treating subjects philosophically, whose philosophical principles he should have first discovered, hath induced him frequently to amuse us with the shadow of an argument instead of its substance. Hence he bewilders his readers in the search after the origin of abstract and abstruse ideas, by directing them to consult their imagination rather than their perceptions; their conceptions, which are ever misleading them, instead of their sensations; which, while they are ray had penetrated and dispelled the clouds of false taste, follies, and affectation; and with a new informing light, had displayed, in their genuine lustre, the charms of genius, virtue, and piety. The TATLER told every thing to every body; and told it so well and so truly, that the hearer was allured to listen, and delighted to laugh; till warmed into praise by the justice of the ridicule, he was surprised by its application, at the winding up of the moral tale—*de te fabula narratur*. The *Guardian* watched with anxious attention against every mischief, and for every good, that might arrive to his fair wards; and knowing that happiness is the crown of virtue, he also knew that the immortal wreath receives still new charms, when adjusted by the gentler duties and graces of life: he extends his solicitude to the manners as well as to the morals; and he presented to the queen of female virtues, as the fairest and safest handmaids, elegance and decorum. The *World* displayed its knowledge, and diffused the precept of its best science, in a manner so agreeably varied, as to prove that the conductors of that literary planet, for its days of influence, were well qualified to discriminate the parallaxes of pleasure

are trusted no farther than they reach, cannot deceive. Had he made Lord Bacon his philosophical guide, instead of imitating Lord Bolingbroke, he would have considered that, like many other modern sophists, he begun at the wrong end of investigation, by running rashly into the maze of metaphysical speculation, without taking with him the clue of physical experiment. Even Locke might have taught him what he did not always practise himself, to distinguish between complex notions, and simple ideas, and to admit only those of the latter, which are evidently deducible from sense.

The similarity of genius, already observed, which our author possessed, to that of the noble author last mentioned, is, in this tract, peculiarly conspicuous. Splendid in his diction, and specious in his argument, he commanded the attention, and captivated the fancy of the reader; but more florid than perspicuous, more superficial than solid, however the flowers of his rhetoric might dazzle and persuade, the force of his reasoning was ineffectual either to instruct or convince. In soaring up to the sublime, he soared out of sight, and with the eccentricity of a comet rushed from pleasure and propriety in the school of fashion: to catch and correct the fluctuating manners in that changeable scene; to prove, by a happy mixture of the most pleasing with the most useful doctrine, that the true orbit of the man of pleasure is within the eccentricities of extravagance; and the sphere of honour has ever virtue for its centre.

Such, through successive brilliant periods, were the concentrated and continued efforts of the talents of some of the brightest names of English literature; when one champion singly and boldly stepped forward in the lists, where the difficult prize of fame had hitherto been contended for by the united powers of many. The *Rambler* appeared; confident in his strength, and constant in the cause of truth. His genius, nervous, original, and intrepid, at once attacked the substance and the root of every vice, in whatever form or colour it could appear, of endeavour to dissemble. And although lighter follies might elude his giant grasp, no cardinal crime could find protection, in the power or corruption of wealth, from the inflexible censure of his moral justice. His acute research discriminates, with unerring exactness,

from a blaze of light into darkness and obscurity. In the pursuit of the beautiful, he carried his refinement to such a degree of delicacy, that it lost its essential quality of pleasing. The form of beauty is no longer amiable than it is palpable to sense.

Of Junius, therefore, considered in the capacity of a philosopher, it may be said, as of his favorite Bolingbroke, in the words of a late writer, that "by "having endeavoured at too "much, he has done nothing; "though, as a political writer, "few can equal and none ex"ceed him." His *forte* does not lie in developing the philosophical secrets of nature, and disclosing the mysterious operations of the human mind; but in discovering the political secrets of society, and exposing the iniquitous machinations of government.

And here the comparison between Bolingbroke and Junius ends: the great abilities of the former having been exerted to introduce the tyranny of arbitrary power, and to enslave his country; while to the latter common gratitude induces us to look up, as to a friend and benefactor both of his country and of mankind.

It

actness, the different merits, too often confounded in the ethical balance; his resistless reasoning, in the inculcation of the various duties of life, though sometimes apparently too abstracted, and refined, is drawn from the simplest and purest sources, and comes home, in Lord Bacon's phrase, "To the business and "bosoms of men." But above all, in his sublime discussions of the most sacred truths, as no style can be too lofty, nor conceptions too grand, for such a subject; so has the great master never exerted the powers of his great genius with more signal success. Impiety shrinks beneath his rebuke; the Atheist trembles and repents; the dying sinner catches a gleam of revealed hope; and all acknowledge the just dispensations of eternal wisdom.

If, in retrospect to these great exemplars, the writer had been induced into more detail than he foresaw, or his reader desired, it is a proof of the danger of attempting to tread in their footsteps; a path so brilliant as to have made him lose sight of the object he had in view. But this, he hopes, will have been in some measure anticipated by the good nature of the reader, from what has already been submitted,

It has been objected, indeed, and that with some appearance of reason against the disinterestedness and integrity of his character, that he has made the public station ever subservient to his private interest; and that he has not only been actuated in his political writings more by a spirit of party, than of patriotism, but, that private pique hath often aggravated his censure as personal attachment has animated his applause.

But our author, it is said, hath not only opposed administration, when his patrons and himself were out of place; but has affected to despise, and has really neglected his fellow patriots engaged in the same cause and defended the persons of its enemies.

We shall not take upon us very warmly to commend his replies to the several pamphlets and papers, written in support of the ministers preceding and succeeding the Rockingham Administration. These were undoubtedly dictated in some measure by the spirit of party, and were confessedly more immediately calculated for the service of his patrons, than for that of the nation. It is some extenuation, however, if not a total exculpation of the criminality of those productions, if our

mitted, as to the difficulty of so new an attempt. The usual resource of the trembling author, is the candour of the public: that is, in other words, if it must be confessed, the favour, or at least the mercy, of the critic; for every reader is a critic; and every writer, if he has the smallest grain of instinct of authorship about him, anticipates, with no little anxiety, the various judgments, that may await him; flattered sometimes by self-approval, fortunately, as perhaps he may have nothing else to reward him, with the hope of a friendly nod: more alarmed, probably, on the other hand, as fear is a more active principle than hope, with the terror of the contemptuous shrug. If, however, this species of publication in periodical essay, on the various topics of *morals*; *manners* and *literature*, has gained eminent and continued approbation, from a European Public, may not even the novelty of the attempt to introduce it on the Indian scene, claim some favour, and deprecate severity? To deserve the former, he is aware how much he will stand in need, not only of the critical indulgence, but the active kindness of his Friends. He will be doubly encouraged by their assistance, and their example.

author really thought, as no doubt he professes to do, that the interest of his patrons, and that of his country, are inseparably connected. Be this as it may, the like objections cannot be made to the letters contained in the present publication; which most opportunely made their first appearance at a time, when the most direct and violent attacks were made and making on the liberties and constitution of our country.

At such a juncture, to stand forth their professed champion, was worthy the fortitude and ability of a Junius. That he has apparently neglected, and even affected publicly to contemn the man, in whose person those flagrant and flagitious attempts were made, is certain. But, whether he looked on him with an envious eye, as a more favoured rival in the popular esteem, or was causelessly jealous of his reputation for literary talents, as a political writer, or from what other motive this seeming neglect was occasioned, is of little consequence to the public. It is of much more, that such neglect was in too great a degree real. It is true indeed, that for some time our author was a private advocate for Wilkes and Liberty; but it is no less true, that he soon after conceived

example. And as it is his determined principle to avoid either giving or taking offence, he hopes that the nature of their favours, and his reception of them, will be equally satisfactory to both parties and the public.

ed the words ill-paired, joined not matched, and determined in his own mind to part them. In consequence of this determination, he appears ever since to have carefully distinguished on all occasions between the cause of Mr. Wilkes, and that of the public; or, rather as some will have it, between the personal interest of Mr. Wilkes, a common friend, and that of Lord Rockingham, his particular friend and patron.

In making this distinction, fatal alas, in its consequences, it is observable that he either set or followed the example of another great rival in popularity, Lord Chatham; who seemed as cautious of being hooked into any connection with Wilkes, as if that unfortunate patriot were contagiously infected with a political pestilence.

Unhappily for this country, the diffidence, distrust and division which there arose between the parties so greatly interested in, and desirous of promoting the same common cause, *have* not only prevented their private success, but *hath* [have] at the same time occasioned the cause of the public to miscarry.

By the thunder of Chatham's elocution within doors, the spirit and adroitness of Wilkes's addresses without, and the still

more powerful, and persuasive rhetoric of Junius's letters and harangues, both without and within, what might not have been done? What might not the united talents of such a triumvirate have effected?

We have now seen comparative specimens of Boyd's writing, at distant periods of his life; in 25, and 47: at the age of 25, he wrote the above anecdotes of *Junius*, in 1771, which he prefixed to an edition of *Junius*, in that year, without the name of the printer, or publisher, with the word, *Piccadilly;* to point at Almon, for both. The whole of this publication of 1771 was intended to mislead, during the moments of inquiry, and of prosecution. He gives sketches of the life of Edmond Burke, to whom he very artfully assigns the authorship of his own letters, with no other proof of the fact, than what was so common with *Junius, confident assertion.* Between the style, and manner, of those *prefatory anecdotes*, and those qualities, in *The Observer*, there is, indeed, no comparison at all; so superior was Boyd, at forty-seven years of age, over Boyd, at twenty-five, in all that constitutes good writing; correctness, energy, and splendour. I mean not to dispute with any one, about *taste*: much less do I mean to argue the question of style with those, who do not pretend to read, with any acumen; with such steady attention, as to be able to tell, whether he write well, or ill; or with those, who prefer inaccuracy to correctness, blunder to pro-

propriety, and the glitter of tinsel to the lustre of gold. Let those, who are ambitious of knowing what fine writing ought to be, read *Johnson*'s criticism on *Junius*, before recited. They will perceive, in the presence of *Johnson*, the insignificance of *Junius*. The incendiary felt the reproof of the moralist, from whom he shrunk away into obscurity. The pertness of *Junius* is lost in the dignity of *Johnson*. The strength of *Johnson*'s sarcasm bears down the feeble fictions of *Junius;* as the torrent carries away obstructions. In *Johnson*, the sense, and sound, constantly accompany each other. His periods are always forcible; because they are ever pungent. And, he never deals in the despicable dross of tinsel, as he abounds in the weighty bullion of gold.

I have now shown, by examples, that those, who have said, "that Boyd could not write *Junius*," have little studied his genuine works. I have proved, by investigations, that *Junius* was neither so high, nor *Boyd* so low, as too many have supposed. I have compared the principles, and peculiarities of both, their topics of argument, and figures of style. The declamations of *Junius* are, doubtless, different, from the discourses of *The Observer*. *Junius* is *disputative*; *The Observer* is *didactic*. *Junius* abounds in all the dexterities of sophistry, in the poignancy of invective, and the energies of sedition. The business of *The Observer* is not to dispute, but to instruct; not to irritate, but to please; not to offend, by opposition, but attract

There is one class of the community who may be supposed to derive permanent benefit from the rise of prices. The proprietors of land and of other real property, whose rents of course are capable of being raised in proportion to the increase in the value of their produce.

The advantage to these persons is however more apparent than real. As far as they consume their own produce, they neither gain nor lose. If they purchase articles of consumption from the tenants, they must pay a price for them proportionate to the increase of their rents; and, generally, in supplying themselves with manufactures, and other articles, which in reality are oftentimes their own produce returned to them in another shape, their increased rents will do no more than compensate the higher cost of those commodities. All that can be said in this case is, that these proprietors maintain their place in society, while the condition of the fixed annuitant is gradually becoming worse.

The rents of some estates, especially in Scotland and Ireland, have, it is true, been increased in a degree far exceeding any difference of expence to which the proprietors may have be-

come liable from the rise of prices; but the improvement has been effected by the judicious application of capital, by the exertion of greater agricultural skill, and by the draining, enclosing and bringing into cultivation large tracks of waste land, to supply the wants of an increasing population. These advantages would have been obtained equally by the land proprietor, had prices remained stationary; and while the decrease in the value of money, or rather while a depreciated currency has evidently been found to affect, in a most injurious manner, a large portion of the community, and to cause great derangement in our commercial and financial system, it may be doubted, whether it has been productive of advantage to any one class of the community, the profession of bankers alone excepted.

It is by no means intended to maintain, that banks are not useful establishments in a commercial community. On the contrary, these establishments have been found to answer several excellent purposes. They constitute a fund for supplying the wants of the merchant; they assist him with advances of money on more liberal terms than he would generally obtain from the

I submit my argument, and my proofs, to the public, without the least emotion of hope, or sensation of fear. Experience must determine, whether this argument, and those proofs, can be answered. By abuse, indeed, they may; the abuse of designed misconception, of purposed misrepresentation, and the absurdity of purposed misrepresentation. I have, indeed, so little solicitude about the fate of my opinion, with regard to *the author of Junius's epistles*, that I would not step across my library, to gain a dozen proselytes. My argument, and proofs, I leave with the intelligent, the ingenuous, and the candid part of the nation:

> " If those will not suffice, it must appear,
> " That malice bears down truth."

A RECAPITULATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND PROOFS, BEFORE DETAILED:—

In all inquiries, wherein the proof is to arise from a concatenation of circumstances, a recapitulation is often necessary, and always useful; for the instructive purpose, of bringing together the distant facts, and for drawing the fair deduction, from the previous premises. In juridical investigations, the jury is sworn to attend to the evidence, and the judge, by his charge, compares every circumstance, dwells upon the most essential points, and directs the jury to advert to the material circumstances. In perusing circumstantial proofs, the reader has none of those helps, either

to

to fix his attention to what is most essential, or to draw his attention to those important circumstances, without which, perusal is useless, and reasoning is vain.

1. I have very early, in this inquiry, brought very satisfactory proofs, that the writer of *Junius* was an *Irishman*. I have, particularly, dwelt upon this fact; because, if it be true, every other claimant, domestic, or foreign, for the merit, or demerit, of being the author of *Junius*, must, necessarily, be cut off: This fact, then, is very important: and the proofs of it are, in proportion, strong. I have shown, that his language is not the idiom of England, but of Ireland. He was, at the period of *Junius*, more than suspected to be an Irishman. He was entrapped, to avow his country. He was peculiarly conversant, with the affairs, and families, of Ireland. I have proved, that Hugh Boyd was born, and educated, in Dublin. It is remarkable, that Boyd's father makes use of the word *younger*, in his last *will*, in the same provincial manner, as his son, in his *Junius*, uses *elder*, for *eldest*; so that this *anomaly* may be deemed a family *witness*. As those proofs cannot be refuted, the inference is plain, that the writer of *Junius* must be acknowledged to be an Irishman.

2. That the *letters* of *Junius* were written, by an *inexperienced*, or *a juvenile pen*, has been proved, beyond a contradiction. As Hugh Boyd was born, in April, 1746, and began to write *Junius*'s epistles, in January, 1769, those letters were written, by him, in the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-

twenty-fifth, years of his age. He undoubtedly wrote them, in the midst of *dissipation*, "While "nature, and nature's works, lay hid in night." Chatterton, a boy of seventeen, who was contemporary with Boyd, has been adduced, as a superior poet, and an equal politician; for the purpose of showing what youths can write, what youths can speak. The late Mr. Pitt was a great statesman, and orator, at the age of two-and-twenty.* From all those examples, we may perceive, that

* Let me add, that uncommon genius, and premature talents, were not produced, only, at Dublin, and Bristol, during that period: Edinburgh gave to Dr. M'Kenzie, a son of considerable genius, and forward talents, who died under age in 1780. See the eulogium by Mr. Professor Dalzel, on James M'Kenzie: "At "the age of *twelve* his conversation was such as to afford very "high pleasure, and even instruction to persons advanced in "life." [Scots Mag. 1780, p. 180.] And see specimens of his poetry, at the age of *twelve* and of *sixteen*? [Ib. 209—10.] Dr. Beattie, of Aberdeen, had once a son, who was, by the recommendation of the Marechal College, appointed a Professor at the age of *nineteen*, and died in 1790, when he had passed twenty-two. Both M'Kenzie, and Beattie, were not more remarkable for genius, than for their moral qualities: In this last respect, they were far superior to Chatterton, and Boyd. Beattie was equal to Chatterton, for his intuitive knowledge of life: and he was superior to Boyd, in erudition, and in the qualities of a poet: yet, whether he could have produced such political papers as Boyd's, I am unable to decide: Had Beattie been turned out on the wilds of the world, to seek for subsistence, amidst the competitions of life, he certainly could have written political lucubrations, both in prose, and verse, with great acumen, and asperity. [See the instructive life of James Hay Beattie, A. M. by his father, Dr. Beattie.]

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the objection, from youth, and inexperience, is but slight.

3. The letters of *Junius* were written, by a person, who delighted *to fish in troubled* waters: So was Boyd recognised, at Madras:

> " A soldier now, he with his coat appears,
> " A *fisher* now, his trembling angle bears."

4. Boyd, like Edmond Burke, W. G. Hamilton, Lord Sackville, and other noblemen, and gentlemen, never disclaimed the imputation of being the writer of *Junius*'s letters. But, as *deeds* speak more persuasively than *words*, he did that, on several occasions, which induced others to think, and to say, that he was the real author: " The *deeds* themselves, though *mute*, spoke loud the *doer*." It is a deeper remark of Almon, than could have been supposed to come, from such a person, that when several persons were taxed with writing *Junius*, they cared not about the imputation; as it was untrue: But, when Boyd was charged with writing *Junius*, he, immediately, flinched; as he *felt the force of truth*. After Boyd was settled, in India; and it was published, in a newspaper, that *Junius* was gone to Madras with Lord Macartney, the wife of Boyd wrote him, repeatedly, to disavow the imputation; but, though he wrote her, on other points, he remained silent, as well as to the imputation, as the disavowal of it; seeing, no doubt, the danger of either.

5. The *alibi* of Boyd, in Ireland, during April, and May, 1769, with the collateral circumstances, add

add a strong confirmation of the previous probabilities of Hugh Boyd being the genuine author of *Junius*'s Letters.

6. The personal evidence has been arranged under *four* periods: (1) While those letters were going through the press of the *Public Advertiser*; (2) While the prosecutions were going on, for printing those letters; (3) After Boyd's emigration to India; (4) While he remained, in India.

As to the *first head*: William Woods, who was then the printer's apprentice, testifies, that he opened the office letters to the printer, and those of *Junius*, among others; that he thinks the *facsimile* specimen in the former edition of this work, is like the hand-writing of *Junius*, though the copy of *Junius*, which was sent to the press, was, generally, better than the specimen; and he adds, that other circumstances induced him to suspect that Boyd was the author. The same printer's foreman, and journeyman, concur, in the belief of Woods. Mrs. Boyd speaks to the constant writing of her husband; to the sending often of large packets to the same printer, but with great secrecy; to her being employed, by him, to carry some of those packets to the same printer's letter-box: and, she speaks, also, of the great pains, which were used by Mr. Boyd, in the mean time, to disguise his hand-writing.

As to the *second head*: Almon testifies that, having seen in the hands of H. F. Woodfall a real letter from *Junius* to him, he taxed *Boyd* with being the writer of both, who, instantly, *changed colour*, and turned off the charge, with the obvious remark,

remark, that comparison of hands is not conclusive proof of the identity of writing: Almon further testifies, that while the prosecutions were going on against the Printers and Publishers of *Junius*, Boyd, who used to call at his shop two or three times a week, absented himself altogether; but, that as soon as those prosecutions were closed, Boyd renewed his frequent visits, as formerly: and, Almon added to those very strong circumstances, that no gentleman of rank, or fashion, would constantly remain in, or about London, as Boyd did, to write such letters, to collect information, and to answer paragraphs, in Newspapers, as they came out. On this head, Mrs. Boyd speaks to the constant occupation of writing for the *Public Advertiser*; of his, secretly, sending, and of her carrying large packets to the Printer's box, at the corner of Ivy-lane; of her suspicions, from those circumstances, of her husband being the author of Junius; of her communicating to him anecdotes, which she afterwards saw in the collected Letters of Junius; circumstances these, which confirmed her suspicions, that her husband wrote *Junius*; and she adds, that she knows, that her husband, after they settled at Ruston-green, borrowed law-books, from a neighbour, which her husband very much studied, soon after Junius's contest with Mr. Horne; and this last circumstance corresponds with Junius's long letter to Lord Mansfield, of the 21st January, 1772, respecting the legal question of bailing John Eyre. On this *second head*, we have now obtained *four detections* of Hugh Boyd being the *real Author*

thor of Junius's Letters: Two, by Almon, when he taxed Boyd with being the writer, when he changed colour; and when Boyd absented himself, from Almon's shop, during the prosecutions, fearful as he was, of being given up, as the author: and, two detections, by Mrs. Boyd, when she saw in the collected letters of *Junius,* the anecdotes, about Lord Irnham, &c. which she had communicated to her husband; and, secondly, when she saw the long letter to Lord Mansfield, about Eyre, having seen the law-books, from which, that letter was composed; to say nothing, thirdly, of his never answering her letters about *Junius,* from Madras. Now, if we add these *four detections* of Boyd being the author, to the previous proofs, how many doubts remain of his complete conviction?

As to the *third head:* after the departure of Boyd to India, there came out a paragraph in the Newspapers, saying, that *Junius* had gone out with Lord Macartney to India; and thereupon, Mrs. Boyd, though her husband's name was not mentioned, sent a gentleman to the Printer; requesting that, nothing more might be said of Mr. Boyd; and she adds, on this point, that she after wrote to her husband, about it, but, he never sent her an answer, though he wrote her letters, about all other matters.

As to the *fourth head:* after his settlement at Madras, he published the *Madras Courier,* a newspaper, and the *India Observer,* a series of Essays. In those printed papers, we may see the person, who, in Europe, *delighted to fish in troubled waters,* and

and in them may be traced, "The cockle of rebellion, insolence, and sedition." During that period, General Dirom knew Boyd, intimately; admired his great talents, as every one else did; often played at chess, with him; and has no doubt, but that Boyd was the author of *Junius*. Captain Neville, at a convivial entertainment, in Calcutta, when they were all mellow with wine, heard Boyd say enough, to convince him, that Boyd wrote *Junius:* About the same time, namely, in 1785, Monsieur Bonnecarrère, who was acquainted with Boyd, at Madras, and other parts of India, has said, at several periods, that, meeting Boyd in the Government-house, at Calcutta, and being alone with him, Boyd avowed, that he was the author of *Junius*, but desired, that Mons. Bonnecarrère would not mention this confession to the Governor General, nor to any one else, during the author's life. Bonnecarrère complied with that injunction; for, he never mentioned the matter, till he visited Sir John Macpherson, in 1802, when being told, by him, that Boyd was no more, he revealed the fact to Sir John, and to others, soon after, in London; and Bonnecarrère has very lately in the *Journal des Débats*, disclosed the whole facts, how he became intimately acquainted with Boyd, in India, and how he revealed to him, as a Frenchman, his secret of being the author of *Junius*. When voluntary confession follows such pregnant proofs, what remains, for the Judge, and Jury, but the conviction of the culprit!

7. Such, then, are the *affirmative proofs:* We

are

are now brought to the objections, which are opposed to the above conviction, and which consist, chiefly, of *the assumptions of sophistry*. It is an assumption to suppose, that the writer of *Junius* was some great personage; some great politician; some great lawyer. It is an assumption, to argue, that there are in *Junius*, either superior information, or superior knowledge, or any thing either in the matter, or manner, beyond the powers of Boyd, which were of no common size, to produce. The writings of Boyd, are superior to the writings of *Junius;* as Boyd was older, and more experienced; and his latest writing is, more accurately composed, than the first; and both his matter, and manner in his latest writings, are superior to those of the first. I have brought such proofs of the writer of *Junius* being an Irishman, that unless those proofs can be opposed, by stronger evidence, Boyd must be preferred; while other claimants of whatever country, must be set aside, as inadmissible.

8. In order to meet such assumption, I have shown where, and how, Boyd was educated. In order to account for his *imagery*, I have proved, that while he was a boy, at school, his *prose* exercises were too *poetical* to please his father. Before the emigration of Boyd to India, he was, in London, known to be a first rate writer, by those, who wished for the aid of the ablest pen. It was the practice of Boyd, to transfer passages, from one, to another of his works: We have seen, particularly, that he transferred what he doubtless thought a splendid passage, from his *Freeholder*, [Pref. x.] to his *Introduction*

tion to the Tanjoric Papers. "The spirit of despotism is gone forth. Oppression her object, devastation her means, famine, sword and fire her instruments, even now she ravages the new world." Thus, is it printed, and pointed, in his *Freeholder.* These facts, and that practice, connect *the Freeholder* with *Junius;* and the writer of the one, with the writer of the other, as one person. There is, moreover, a defect, in what he thought a splendid passage, which proves it to have been written, by the *careless* pen of *Junius.* The fault is in the *pointing,* to which *Junius* could not condescend, however important, to exhibit the sense, in its best spirit, and to avoid the charge of feebleness in his periods, and of bluntness in his sarcasms. The above passage ought to have been thus printed: "The spirit of despotism is gone forth. Oppression her object; devastation her means; famine, sword, and fire, her instruments: Even now, she ravages the new world." Thus, without the colon (:) after instruments, his period is feeble, and his sense is imperfect. This, then, is one of the great faults of *Junius;* proceeding from the carelessness of the writer. We thus, again, see, how the *Freeholder* is linked, by *hooks of steel,* with *Junius;* so as to prove the identity of the writer of both. This precludes the observation, which is very easily made, that the Freeholder is only an *imitation* of *Junius:* But, the *practice,* and the facts, before-mentioned, demonstrate, that the writer of both was *the same.* While Hugh Boyd was yet at Trinity College, he

evinced great power of memory, by multiplying nine cyphers, by nine: In India, it appeared to persons, who knew him, that he could solve, by memory, *mathematical problems*. These facts prove, that the Hugh Boyd, in question, was an uncommon youth, and an extraordinary man.

9. With design, to show what Hugh Boyd *could* write, I have produced what the same Boyd did write; consisting of various specimens of his works, in prose, and verse; and I have contrasted his political papers, which were, successively, published, under different signatures, on the same anarchical principles; having the same topicks, and energies, the same faults, and the same beauties: On this head, I have shewn, by contrast, that the defects, and excellencies, the affectations of imagery, and the peculiarities of spirit, in his *Junius*, and in his *Observer*, are, in both, the same, though they are, certainly, written, with dissimilar aims, at distant periods, and in very different countries. It is apparent, that there are very few persons, within the United Kingdom, at present, who could write such uncommon papers, as Boyd's *Antrim Letters*, as his *Whig*, as his *Observer*.

10. Lastly: I have neither seen, in the public controversy, nor heard in private conversation, any other objections, than doubts and hesitations, sophisms, and fictions, which, when opposed to affirmative proofs, appear to be of so airy, and light a quality, that they are but the shadows of a shadow: Considering, then, that there is satisfactory evidence, for the affirmative position,

that

that Boyd wrote *Junius*'s Letters, and no evidence, for the negative, I must be allowed to conclude, with TILLOTSON, "that those things are *certain* "among men, which cannot be denied, without the "charge of obstinacy, and folly:" We, daily, see, however,

"What crops of wit, and honesty, appear,
"From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear."

FINIS.

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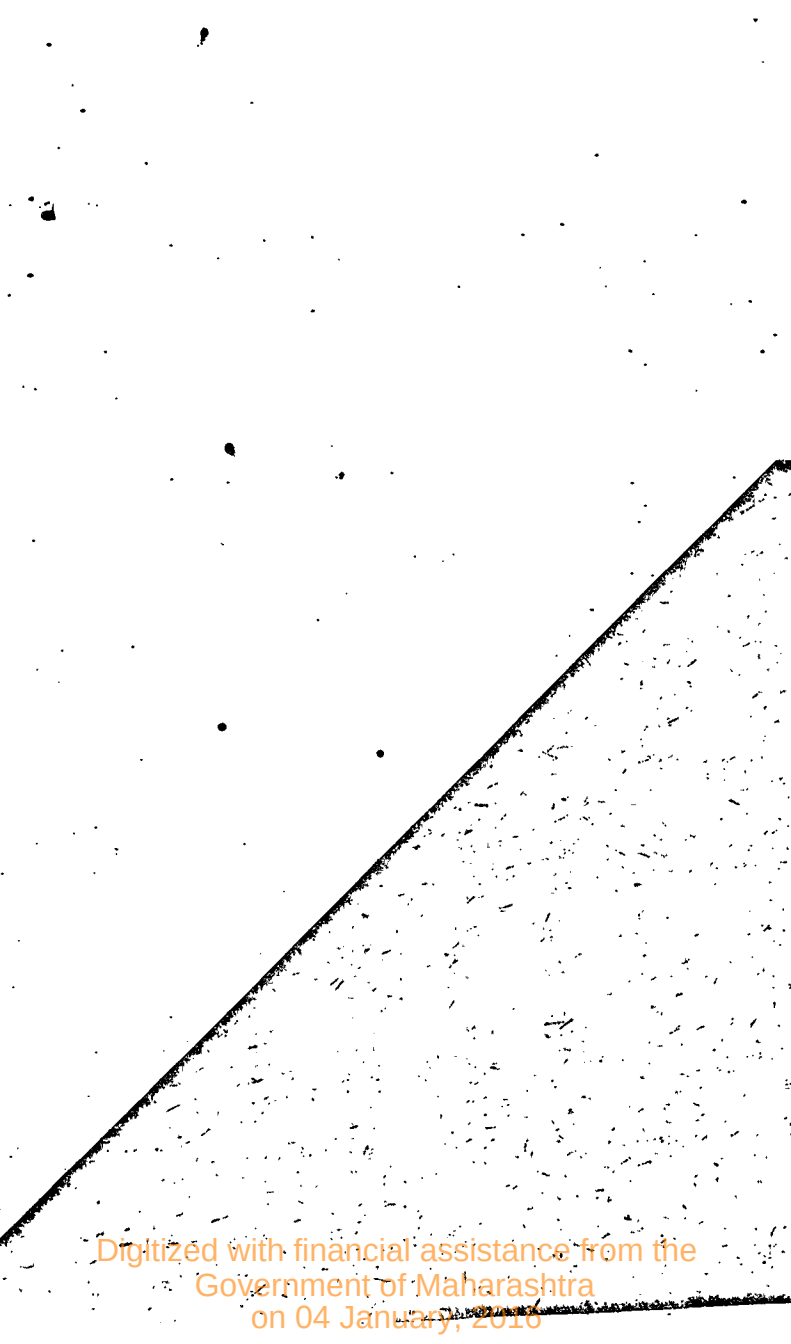
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